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BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

BY JOSEPH COOK.

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BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

ORIENT,

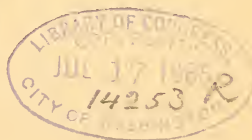
WITH PRELUDES ON CURRENT EVENTS.

By JOSEPH COOK.

11

Let us begin as Orientals and end as Occidentals, for these are
the two halves of wisdom.

AMIEL: *Journal Intime.*



BOSTON AND NEW YORK:
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To
THE MANY SCORES OF FRIENDS
IN
ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, GERMANY, INDIA, CHINA,
JAPAN, AND AUSTRALIA,
WHOSE KINDNESS TO ME AND MINE, ON A TOUR OF THE WORLD,
HAS ENCIRCLED THE EARTH FOR US WITH
A CHAIN OF MEMORIES,
EVERY LINK IN WHICH IS GOLDEN,
This Book
IS RESPECTFULLY, GRATEFULLY, AND AFFECTIONATELY
DEDICATED,
IN ASPIRATION FOR THE SUCCESS OF
INTERNATIONAL REFORM,
AND THE GROWTH OF THE SPIRIT OF A
COSMOPOLITAN CITIZENSHIP.

"If intellectual faculties are common to all men, reason is also; if reason is common to all, then conscience, which commands us what to do and what not to do, is common also; if this is so, there is a common law also; if this is so, we are all members of some political community; and if this is so, the whole world is in a manner one state."

— MARCUS AURELIUS: *Thoughts*, iv. 4.

"The sun-orb sings, in emulation,
'Mid brother spheres, his ancient round:
His path predestined through creation
He ends with step of thunder sound.
The angels from his vision splendid
Draw power whose measure none can say;
The lofty works, uncomprehended,
Are bright as on the earliest day.

"And swift and swift beyond conceiving,
The splendor of the world goes round;
Day's Eden-brightness still relieving
The awful Night's intense profound:
The ocean tides in foam are breaking,
Against the rocks' deep bases hurled,
And both, the spheric race partaking,
Eternal, swift, are onward hurled."

GOETHE, *Faust* (Taylor's tr.), *Prologue in Heaven*.

INTRODUCTION.

THE object of the Boston Monday Lectures is to present the results of the freshest German, English, and American scholarship on the more important and difficult topics concerning the relations of Religion and Science.

They were begun in the Meionaon in 1875. The audiences gathered at noon on Mondays were of such size as to need to be transferred to Park Street Church in October, 1876, and thence to Tremont Temple, which was often more than full during the winter of 1876-77 and in that of 1877-78. The very capacious auditorium of Tremont Temple was destroyed by fire in August, 1879; and in November of that year the lectures were transferred to the Old South Meeting-House, the most interesting of the historic edifices of New England.

The audiences have always contained large numbers of ministers, teachers, and other educated men.

The thirty-five lectures given in 1876-77 were reported in the Boston Daily "Advertiser," by Mr. J. E. Bacon, stenographer, and most of them were republished in full in New York and London. They are contained in the first, second, and third volumes of Boston Monday Lectures, entitled "Biology," "Transcendentalism," and "Orthodoxy."

The thirty lectures given in 1877-78 were reported by Mr. Bacon for the "Advertiser," and republished in full in

New York and London. They are contained in the fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes of Boston Monday Lectures, entitled "Conscience," "Heredity," and "Marriage."

The twenty lectures given in 1878-79 were reported by Mr. Bacon for the "Advertiser," and republished in full in New York and London. They are contained in the seventh and eighth volumes of Boston Monday Lectures, entitled "Labor" and "Socialism."

In 1880, 1881, and 1882, Mr. Cook made a tour of the world, as traveler and lecturer.

During his absence there was given in Tremont Temple, in the Boston Monday Lectureship, a course of ten lectures, which are now included in the volume entitled "Christ and Modern Thought." The lecturers were : —

President JAMES McCOSH, D. D., LL. D., of Princeton College.

Ex-President MARK HOPKINS, D. D., LL. D., of Williams College.

President E. G. ROBINSON, D. D., LL. D., of Brown University.

Rev. S. W. DIKE.

Rev. THOMAS GUARD, D. D.

Rt. Rev. THOMAS M. CLARK, D. D., LL. D.

Prof. GEORGE R. CROOKS, D. D., LL. D., of Drew Theological Seminary.

Rev. G. B. THOMAS, D. D.

Rev. JOHN COTTON SMITH, D. D.

Chancellor HOWARD CROSBY, D. D., LL. D.

In the volume made up of the lectures of these gentlemen, there was published a preliminary lecture on "The Methods of Meeting Modern Unbelief," given by Mr. Cook in London. In the English edition there was included Wendell Phillips' Reply to Chancellor Crosby's View of the Temperance Question.

After returning from his tour of the world, Mr. Cook gave in the Boston Monday Lectureship, in Tremont Temple, the twelve lectures which are included in the ninth and tenth volumes of the Boston Monday Lectures, entitled "Occident" and "Orient." They were reported stenographically by Mr. Bacon, and republished in full in New York, Chicago, London, and other cities.

The following is from the REPORT OF THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP FOR 1883:—

1. The published reports of the Boston Monday Lectures are now estimated to reach in America, England, Scotland, India, and Australia more than a million readers weekly.

2. The audiences in Boston for the season of 1883 — the seventh of the Lectureship — have been of unprecedented quantity and quality, often exceeding the seating capacity of Tremont Temple.

3. The Monday Lectures given in past years now make eight volumes in their American form, and of these several have reached a fifteenth or sixteenth edition. There are in England thirteen different forms of these volumes as republished in London. It is affirmed by their numerous publishers that no volumes on similar themes have ever been circulated more widely than these through England, Scotland, India, and Australia.

4. During Mr. Cook's recent absence from Boston, he made a tour of the world, the journey extending through two years and seventy-seven days. He lectured oftener, on the average, than every other working-day, while on the land. In all the great cities visited there were immense audiences. The principal subjects of the lectures were the chief questions now in discussion between Christianity on the one hand, and philosophy and physical science on the other. It is believed that topics equally difficult and serious were never before carried through a tour of similar extent and success.

There were 135 public appearances in the United Kingdom, 42 in India and Ceylon, 5 in China, 12 in Japan, and 50 in Australia.

5. Among the distinguished gentlemen who have given written permission for the use of their names on the Honorary Committee of the Boston Monday Lectureship, are :—

Rev. JAMES McCOSH, D. D., President of Princeton College ; Rev. R. S. STORRS, D. D., Brooklyn, N. Y. ; Rev. ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK, D. D., New York city ; Rev. WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D. D., New York city ; Prof. EDWARDS A. PARK, D. D., Andover, Mass. ; Prof. J. P. GULLIVER, Andover, Mass. ; Bishop F. D. HUNTINGTON, Syracuse, N. Y. ; Rev. T. M. POST, D. D., St. Louis ; Prof. S. I. CURTISS, Chicago Theological Seminary ; President GEORGE F. MAGOUN, Iowa College ; Bishop BENJAMIN N. PADDOCK ; Hon. A. H. RICE, Ex-Governor of Massachusetts ; Hon WILLIAM CLAFLIN, Ex-Governor of Massachusetts ; Prof. BORDEN P. BOWNE, Boston University ; SAMUEL JOHNSON, Boston ; WENDELL PHILLIPS, Boston ; Rev. N. G. CLARK, D. D., Boston ; Rev. OTIS GIBSON, San Francisco ; Gen. JOHN EATON, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

A. J. GORDON, *President.*

M. R. DEMING, *Secretary and Treasurer.*

G. A. FOXCROFT, *Business Manager.*

As the matter in the Preludes refers to current reform, the expressions of the audiences, whether favorable or unfavorable, are retained as recorded by the stenographer ; but these have been omitted in the Lectures, as the latter have been considerably revised and enlarged since delivery.

Among the more salient points of the present volume will be found —

1. A study of the character and career of Keshub Chunder Sen and of the contributions of the Brahmo Somaj of

India to the science of Comparative Theology. (See Lect. III. and Appendix III.)

2. A discussion of the origin and possible future of recent reforms in Japan. (See Lect. V., Appendix IV., and especially Appendix V.)

3. A series of descriptive passages concerning Palestine, the Taj Mahal, the Himalayas, China, and the Southern Pacific Ocean. (See Lecture I., Appendices I. and II., and Lectures IV. and VI.)

4. A consideration of the achievements and probable future of civilization is Australasia. (See Lecture VI.)

5. A discussion of the International Duties of Christendom and of the prospects of Imperial Federation in the British Empire. (See Prelude VI.)

LIST OF CITIES

VISITED IN MR. COOK'S TOUR OF THE WORLD.

INSTEAD of a map showing the course of Mr. Cook's tour of the world, a list of cities is here given in the order in which they were visited. The names of those in which lectures were delivered are starred. Those marked with three stars are those in which courses of lectures were given. The time occupied by the whole tour was two years and seventy-seven days.

I. ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, IRELAND, AND WALES.

Steamship "Arizona," New York to Liverpool.	Mauchline.
Liverpool.	Glasgow.**
London.*	Stirling.*
Birmingham.**	Balloch.
Stratford-on-Avon.	Glasgow.*
Cardiff.**	Kilmarnock.*
Brecon.*	Dundee.**
Swansea.**	St. Andrews.
Oxford.	Perth.*
Sheffield.*	Glasgow.*
Bradford.*	Aberdeen.*
Newcastle.*	Elgin.*
Dewsbury.*	Inverness.*
Leeds.*	Blair Athol.
Edinburgh.***	Edinburgh.
Glasgow.***	Sunderland.*
Ayr.	Stockton.*
	Durham.*

Middlesbrough.*	Dumfries.*
Edinburgh.	Craigenputtock.
Newcastle-on-Tyne.*	Ecclefechan.
Jarrow-on-Tyne.*	Londonderry.**
Darlington.*	Dublin.**
Batley.*	Newry.*
Keighley.*	Belfast.*
York.*	Dublin.*
Hanley.*	Belfast.***
Birmingham.*	Dublin.*
Walsall.*	Wolverhampton.*
Manchester.*	Bolton.*
Bolton.*	Manchester.*
Manchester.**	London.*
Liverpool.*	Aberdare.*
Aberavon.*	Cardiff.*
Merthyr Tydfil.*	Swansea.*
Edinburgh.	Treorky.*
Bolton.*	London.
Bradford.*	Huddersfield.*
Leicester.*	Upper Holloway.*
Walsall.*	London.***
Leicester.	Rochdale.*
Nottingham.*	Hull.*
Huddersfield.*	London.
Edinburgh.*	Tunbridge Wells.
South Shields.*	Cambridge.
Halifax.*	Ely.
Hawick.*	Bedford.
Melrose.	Olney.
Haddington.	Canterbury.
Edinburgh.	Dover.

II. GERMANY AND SWITZERLAND.

Brussels.	Berlin.
Battle-field of Waterloo.	Leipzig.*
Antwerp.	Halle.
Cologne.	Bonn.
Bonn am Rhein.*	Bingen.
Ems.	Heidelberg.
Göttingen.	Baden

Strasburg.	Chamounix.
Basel.	Martigny.
Berne.	Lucerne.
Interlaken.	Fluelen.
Geneva.	Andermatt.
Coppet.	St. Gotthard Pass.

III. ITALY AND GREECE.

Biasca.	Rome.*
Stresa.	Pompeii.
Milan.	Naples.*
Padua.	Mediterranean.
Venice.	Athens.
Florence.	Greece to Egypt.

IV. EGYPT AND PALESTINE.

Alexandria.	Port Said.
From Alexandria to Jaffa.	Cairo.
Jaffa.	The Pyramids.
Jerusalem.	Suez.
Bethlehem.	The Red Sea.
Jaffa.	Aden.
Jaffa to Port Said.	

V. INDIA AND CEYLON.

Bombay.***	Bay of Bengal.
Poona.**	Steamer to Madras.
Ahmednagar.*	Madras.***
Jubbulpore.	Bangalore.**
Allahabad.	Trichinopoly.
Agra.	Madura.***
Delhi.	Tinnevely.
Cawnpore.	Tuticorin.
Lucknow.*	India to Ceylon.
Allahabad.*	Colombo.
Benares.*	Kandy.***
Calcutta.***	Colombo.*
Darjeeling.	Galle.*
Calcutta.	

VI. CHINA AND JAPAN.

Galle to Hong Kong.	Kioto.
Hong Kong.	Nara.
Canton.*	Kobe.**
Hong Kong.	Osaka.*
China Sea.	Kobe.
Nagasaki.*	Kioto.**
Steamer, Inland Sea.	Steamer, Inland Sea.*
Yokohama.*	Nagasaki.*
Tokio.***	Steamer, China Sea.
Yokohama.*	Shanghai.***
Steamer to Yokaichi.	Steamer to Foochow.
Yokaichi to Nagoya.	Foochow.*
Nagoya to Sekigahara.*	Steamship "Menmuir," Foo-
Sekigahara to Kioto.	chow to Sydney.

VII. AUSTRALIA, TASMANIA, NEW ZEALAND, AND THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

Sydney.***	Launceston, Hobart.
Bathurst.*	Hobart.***
Sydney.*	Launceston.*
Goulburn.*	Melbourne.**
Melbourne.***	Sandihurst.**
Ballarat.*	Melbourne.*
Melbourne.	Sydney.
Ballarat.*	Steamer to Brisbane.
Melbourne.**	Brisbane.***
Geelong.*	Ipswich.*
Melbourne.	Brisbane.*
Steamer to Adelaide.	Steamer to Sydney.
Adelaide.***	Sydney.
Gawler.*	Steamship "Zealandia," from
Moonta Mines.*	Sydney to San Francisco.*
Adelaide.***	Auckland.*
Steamer to Melbourne.	Honolulu.*
Melbourne.	

VIII. AMERICA.

San Francisco.**	Omaha.*
Oakland.*	Chicago.*
Denver.*	Albany.
Lincoln.*	Boston.*

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I.

PALESTINE, EGYPT, AND THE FUTURE
OF ISLAM.

WITH A PRELUDE ON

NATIONAL AID TO EDUCATION.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-SEVENTH LECTURE IN THE
BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN
TREMONT TEMPLE, FEBRUARY 19, 1883.

"The laws of the United States present innumerable precedents in which Congress has exercised the power to contribute toward the general education of citizens of the new states, and in no instance has its constitutional right to do so been questioned." — CHIEF JUSTICE WAITE.

"In the year 1900, each of the States lying between Maryland and Texas will have a colored majority within its borders; and we shall have eight minor republics of the Union in which either the colored race will rule, or a majority will be disfranchised." — A. W. TOURGÉE.

"The scenery of Palestine is a fifth Gospel." — ERNEST RENAN.

"There sits drear Egypt, mid beleaguering sands,
Half woman and half beast,
The burnt-out torch within her mouldering hands
That once lit all the East."

J. R. LOWELL.

ORIENT.

PRELUDE I.

NATIONAL AID TO EDUCATION.

ARISTOTLE said that whoever meditates on the art of governing men will perceive that it depends on the education of children.

The most significant storm map of the United States is the chart illustrating the illiteracy of our population. I open it before you in the plates 29, 30, and 31 of Walker's "Statistical Atlas of the United States," and beg you to hover above it long with impartial and searching gaze. Notice how thick and dark the clouds of illiteracy are becoming in the Southwest, and on the Gulf, and in Texas, and in the lower part of the Mississippi Valley. See how the gray mists gather on the great rivers of the beautiful lands of Georgia, Alabama, and the Carolinas, and on the mountain regions of Tennessee and Kentucky, and especially above the foreign population and largest cities of the Northern States. Neither the census of 1870 nor that of 1880 is faultless in accuracy; but in their chief outlines their results are to be trusted, when they agree, as they do on the points

I am now emphasizing. In the chart which I hold before you the light yellow represents the school attendance. The other colors represent the population engaged in gainful occupations and in personal service. Speaking roundly, everybody except infants and the aged ought to be at school or at work ; and the margins of these squares show you the proportion of our population that is neither at school nor at work. Such of you as have an eye for scientific illustrations will notice that by the often broad margins here a really immense population is indicated, and it is out of these marshes that the clouds rise which cover the map of illiteracy. These most suggestive charts I often keep lying open before me in my study, and I sometimes bend over them in solitude, with keen, patriotic pain and suffused eyes. They represent the darkest hour in the educational history of the foremost Christian republic of all time.

Notice, first, the illiteracy of the United States as a whole : —

1. Five millions of the fifty millions of the population of the United States over ten years of age cannot read ; six and a quarter cannot write.

2. Of the ten millions of voters of the United States, one in five cannot write his name.

It is true, indeed, that one in five of our population is an evangelical church member. That fact represents a most hopeful side of our civilization. But at the extreme left we have among the voters one in five who cannot write, and this is the most alarming part of our national condition.

3. The nation is now charged with the education of

eighteen millions of children and youth. Of these ten and one half millions are enrolled in public and private schools, but the average attendance is only six millions. Seven and one-half millions, or five twelfths of the whole, are growing up in absolute ignorance of the English alphabet.

4. At the present rate of the increase of the number of children not attending school, there will be in ten years more children in the United States out of schools than in them. (Senator Blair's Speech on Aid to Common Schools. "Congressional Record," June 15, 1882, p. 9.)

Statements parallel to these have been made by our distinguished National Commissioner of Education, General John Eaton, of Washington, whose authority I have here, in print or writing, for all these propositions. Within a fortnight he has sent to me, most kindly, elaborate collections of documents, some of which lie on this table; and he will send, I have no doubt, to any teacher or lecturer making a special study of national aid to education, similar collections. You can verify these statistics for yourselves. Senator Blair, of New Hampshire, in introducing his famous bill for the prevention of national illiteracy, put all these facts and many more before Congress. I am selecting out of the great quiver of startling circumstances, illustrating the extent of national illiteracy, a few arrows that have the sharpest points, and that are so feathered that the flight of them may be far and sure.

5. In all but five of the states there were enough illiterate voters to have reversed the result of the last presidential election in each of these states.

6. It is estimated by the statisticians of the government that the total annual profit to the country by the conversion of illiterate into educated labor could not be less than \$400,000,000 a year. (General John Eaton, National Commissioner of Education, Address before the Union League Club of New York, December 21, 1882, pp. 19, 20.)

Notice, next, the illiteracy of cities in the United States : —

1. In thirty-four cities, according to their own latest official reports, from 50 to 82 per cent. of the children of school age are not enrolled at all.

2. In eighty-six cities the average attendance is only about two thirds of the enrollment, or one third of the population of school age. These eighty-six cities contain over eight millions of inhabitants, or nearly one sixth of the total population of the country; but more than a third of their population of school age never enter the school-room at all.

You thought we had compulsory education. So we have, on paper, in many cities; but in very many no compulsory education, even on paper.

3. New York, superbest city of my native state and of the hemisphere, and ultimately to be as large as London, has 114,000 children not enrolled in school at all; and the average attendance is but 132,000, out of a school population of 385,000. You say that many who are not in the public schools are in private schools, and I make allowance for that fact; but it does not account for the enormous difference between 132,000 and 385,000. Suppose that it accounts for a quarter of that difference; what are you to do with

the remaining three quarters, or nearly 200,000 children, growing up at the mouth of the Hudson without a knowledge of reading and writing ?

4. Chicago, proud queen of the great lakes, enrolls less than half (forty-three per cent.) of her children in the public schools ; less than a third are habitually in school ; fifty-seven per cent. never attend at all, and of these very few receive instruction in private schools.

5. St. Louis has a school population of 106,000. Of these 55,000 are enrolled, 36,000 is the average attendance, and 50,000 are growing up in a savage state, aggravated by contact with the depravity of the worse parts of city life.

6. Cincinnati has an average attendance at school of but 27,000, or less than a third of the whole number of her school population ; while 51,000 are not enrolled at all. Out of the school population of the entire state only 28,650 are in private schools, and of these probably not more than 10,000 can be found in Cincinnati, so that 40,000 children in that city are to-day growing up in dense ignorance. (Senator Blair's Speech, cited above, p. 9. See also the Tables on Illiteracy, prepared by General Eaton.)

Cincinnati is not the worst of our great cities, and Ohio is the mother of Presidents, and in most respects a model commonwealth. Three of these cities have sprung up in the Northwest, — that region of our country which has had enormous aid from government for common-school purposes.

Notice, thirdly, the illiteracy in the Southern States. I place this topic after the theme of illiteracy in

northern cities, lest I should seem to be moved by partisan feeling, or should be accused of not remembering with sufficient vividness the mighty financial reverses of the South at the close of the Rebellion. I beg leave to state that I quite agree with Mr. Mayo in his admirable address before the gathering of the friends of social science at Saratoga, last summer, when he says, after traveling three years through the South, that he believes the population of that section of our Union has done more in proportion to its wealth for common-school education in the last ten years than the northern portion of our Union. Nevertheless, here are two facts of huge significance:—

1. Thirty-two and three tenths per cent. of the voters in the South are illiterate. Of these 69.7 are colored and 30.3 are whites.

2. In spite of all the appliances of education, the increase of illiterate voters in the South from 1870 to 1880 was 187,671. "In more than one third of the Union the ignorant voters are almost one third of the total number of voters." (President Hayes's Address at Cleveland, October, 1882.)

Notice, lastly, illiteracy in the territories:—

1. In New Mexico forty-five per cent. of the white population over ten years of age, and sixty-nine per cent. of the colored population, cannot write.

2. In Alaska, to our most searching shame,—a territory wholly under the control of Congress, and as large as the whole American Union east of the Mississippi and north of the Gulf States,—Congress leaves a population of 30,000 hardy people without any legal provision at all for the education of their children.

Storm East, storm West, storm North, storm South, storm especially in the Southwest !

While illiteracy, either as a haze or a dark threat, occupies so much of our national sky, what is to happen if the opinions of his excellency, the present Governor of Massachusetts, prevail concerning the withdrawal of state aid from normal schools, or the reduction of the salaries of male teachers in the common schools? Summarize the points in his recent message which are unfriendly to the present Massachusetts school system, and call his excellency's educational policy Butlerism. Let the system of governmental action he recommends be adopted, let Butlerism prevail, and are the storms which national illiteracy is sure to engender likely to be averted? Is Butlerism the Ariel to control the Caliban of the ignorant suffrage of the United States? That is a fair question. A very bold one, indeed; but it is the business of the independent platform to be bold. I am not a politician. I am not trying to grind any axe on any one of the forty political grindstones of this Republic, nor have I any political head to be decapitated. [Laughter.] My conviction is that national illiteracy and Butlerism stand to each other in the relations of fire and fan. Butlerism and national illiteracy put together would ruin the nation. [Applause.]

On former occasions I have defended the normal schools of this state, and, indeed, they are sufficiently defended by Colonel Higginson's recent beautiful apologue of the farmer and his plow. (See "Journal of Education," 1883.) We exempt the plow

from legal seizure when a man cannot pay his debts. Why? Because this instrument is one of the chief means by which its owner is supposed to obtain his livelihood. What the plow is to the man who depends on the soil for his sustenance, the normal schools, educating teachers for the common schools, are to the whole common-school system. The unkind remarks of his excellency concerning the state normal schools are contrary to what the Peabody Fund and its administrators have taught us, for a great portion of that fund goes for the education of teachers. His excellency's remarks almost amount to saying: "Cut down the tree. It is of no use to us. All we want is its shade." [Laughter.]

Give us the normal schools to educate a competent class of teachers, and give us high schools, with practical courses of study, as a link of silver between the common schools, or the link of iron, and the universities, or the link of gold, and we can hold our population together through all its orders, from its less well educated to the best educated classes. One of the hugest needs of this country and of many another country is a middle link of education between the best cultured and those who have only elementary instruction. The masses of our people very soon will cease to believe in highly intellectual and thoroughly trained men as leaders, unless there be high schools to lift pupils from the very bottom of the social scale and educate the brightest minds into sympathy with the best educated circles. Our government rests on the people at large; but in any severe strain it depends on the silver link more than on the golden or

the iron. A man who is too highly educated in this country loses a certain amount of political influence. A man who is very ignorant must, of course, lose influence ; but if we have not high schools, if we have not advanced grammar schools, to carry the best intellects of the people up into the region where they at least appreciate the highest thought, although they may not be able to produce it, we are likely to be led from the bottom, and not from the top of society. Unless we have normal schools, and high schools as a middle link, we cannot be led even by the middle portion of our population, but shall be led by the lowest. In the name of political necessity and of the interest of all classes of the people, I defend the high schools and the normal schools. I defend that continuity of educational institutions which begins at the lowest round of the common-school ladder, — a round that ought to stand in the gutter and lift the worthy pupil, of whatever social rank, to the upper round, on a level as high as education has reached anywhere on earth. Let us make the American educational ladder continuous, with no gaps, so that the poorest man, if he have the ability, may go up to the very top. *Without vigorous intermediate, as well as primary and collegiate education, any nation under universal suffrage is likely to fall into bondage to the uneducated.*

National aid to education is the only adequate remedy for the national evil of illiteracy. If the attitude of Congress is to be taken as representing that of the people at large, public opinion is yet very far from having risen to the height the facts require us to

reach, if we are to meet the demands of this case. Many a country is much more sensitive to its illiteracy than we appear to be to that of our own nation. At this moment Greece expends more for her common schools, in proportion to her wealth, than we do. So does Japan; and the latter country has a larger proportion of her children in school than we have. As a nation, we are not in advance of Prussia in expenditures for common schools. Even England and Scotland are verging close upon New England in their taxes for the abolition of illiteracy. The truth is that, instead of being, as a whole, at the front of the educational advance of civilization, our proud nation is gradually dropping into a laggard place. Of course, in some particulars we have difficulties to contend with which foreign nations do not have in equal degree; but so do they have difficulties which we have not. We have a great foreign immigration. We have lately made citizens of the vast colored population in the Southern States. No matter from what source illiteracy has arisen among us, it is our duty to cancel it, in spite of all difficulties, and to lead the world in the abolition of ignorance, for our form of government more than any other necessitates the education of the people at large.

There are three plans put forward as antidotes for the giant mischiefs of illiteracy in the United States:

1. An appropriation of \$100,000,000 during the next ten years, beginning with \$15,000,000 annually, with a gradual decrease; the money to be distributed on the basis of the illiteracy of citizens over ten years of age in the different states and territories, accord-

ing to the census of 1880, exclusively for common schools, unsectarian in character, one tenth of the sum to be used for the training of common-school teachers. This is the proposal made in the Senate bill reported by Mr. Blair, of New Hampshire.

2. An appropriation of \$10,000,000 annually for five years, on the same basis, for a similar purpose, no state to receive a larger sum than its own appropriation, and on condition of having provided three months' schooling a year for all its children, five per cent. to be appropriated to the training of teachers. This is the proposal made in the House bill reported by Mr. Sherwin, of Illinois. (The Rev. A. D. Mayo's Address before the Social Science Association, at Saratoga, September 5, 1882.)

3. The creation of a perpetual fund, to be composed of the accretions to the Treasury from annual sales of public lands, railroad revenues, and other sources, the interest of which shall be distributed to the states at first upon the basis of illiteracy, and afterward according to population; one third to be appropriated to the support of agricultural colleges, and the remainder of such interest to the common schools. This proposal has been pending in Congress for several years. (See Senator Blair's Speech, cited above, p. 12.)

This last is a majestic scheme. Next to Civil Service Reform, it ought to rouse most thoroughly the enthusiasm of our cultured circles and younger men, and so force upon Congress prompt action in obedience to the will of the educated part of society. Questions of detail as to the management of the

funds given by the nation in aid of education in the states can only be settled by experience. Distinguish carefully national contribution from national control in this matter. The expenditure of the national funds would, of course, be watched by national officers; but state rights would not be invaded at all. If there be doubt as to the constitutionality of the first and second of the proposals just mentioned, there can be none as to that of the third. As to precedents, it is most certain that we have already given large parts of the public land in the Western and Northwestern States for the support of common school education. President Hayes has said that Ohio owes her present preëminence in the United States as an educated commonwealth far more to the national aid which the government gave to her common schools, by setting apart land in the Northwest Territory for their support, than to any other cause whatever. Her fat soil, her mighty commercial opportunities, her vigorous population have not done for her what this governmental aid did. We of the old thirteen States have not had as much aid as we have given; but under these new measures we should obtain some aid, and we need it, especially where the great cities are thrusting their illiteracy into such alarming prominence. It is only fair that in any new aid the oldest States should have assistance according to the extent of their illiteracy. Such a use of public funds is certainly not opposed to precedent. Daniel Webster said it was not contrary to his interpretation of the Constitution to give a large part of the proceeds of the sale of public land

to the quenching of illiteracy and the support of the common-school education throughout the nation at large.

My supreme argument in favor of this superb scheme of national aid to education is the condition of the South. It was the North that forced upon the South a large illiterate vote. This was a noble act, justified by the circumstances of the time. But the war itself is not fought out until we enable the Southern States to conquer the perils of the illiteracy which came into existence there by the downfall of slavery and by the enfranchisement of the blacks. Let us deliver America from bondage to the uneducated ; let us end the war ; let us have peace. [Applause.]

LECTURE I.

PALESTINE, EGYPT, AND THE FUTURE OF ISLAM.

ONCE, and once only, and in Palestine, has appeared on earth a perfect life. In the Holy Land, and there only, and there but once, has been seen man at his climax. The sinlessness of Christ forbids his possible classification with men. Events are everything and places nothing in the Holy Land, except as the latter illustrate the former. The scenery of Palestine is well said to be a fifth Gospel; the uncovering of buried ruins in the Holy Land is a sixth; the indubitable, current fulfillment of prophecy as to Jerusalem, the Jews, and Christianity, is a seventh; but these gospels are empty and worthless without the first four.

What is to be seen in Palestine? To the south, God in History; to the east, God in History; to the north, God in History; to the west, God in History. What is to be heard in Palestine? On Lebanon at noon, on Calvary at midnight, on the Mount of Olives at sunrise, in the Garden of Gethsemane at sunset, God, God, God, who was, and is, and is to come! He at whose words the hills melt and the mountains smoke has spoken through Palestine as through no other trumpet of earth and time. It is the voice and not the instrument that is holy.

Now that the mythical theory in explanation of

the origin of Christianity is completely overthrown, the enlightened traveler in the Holy Land will take as companions there not Strauss and Renan, but Neander and Ewald and Keim and Stanley and Farrar and Weiss and Edersheim.

The most important question ever raised by religious or philosophical inquiry — How can the soul be delivered from the love of sin and the guilt of it? — has received in Palestine, and not in Greece, not in Rome, not in India, nor elsewhere, a satisfactory answer.

A progressive revelation extending through many ages, and contained in both the events and the inculcations recorded in the Holy Scriptures, is unified by the single purpose of teaching the necessity and the methods of deliverance from the love and the guilt of sin.

It is no more certain that it was given to Greece to teach art, philosophy, and eloquence, and to Rome to teach politics and jurisprudence, than that it was given to Palestine to instruct men in the way, the truth, and the life of reconciliation with God.

Wholly peculiar was this mission, and as certainly supernatural as it was natural, and hardly less astounding in the latter aspect than in the former. The natural is always based on the supernatural. Only a natural supernaturalism explains either nature or history.

It is historically incontrovertible that in Palestine appeared He whose precept, example, and pierced Right Hand have lifted heathenism off its hinges, and turned into new channels the course of the dolorous

and accursed ages. All the details of his earthly life illuminate his message. Christ was a Revelation ; and these are indubitably

“ those holy fields,
Over whose acres walked those blessed feet,
Which ‘ eighteen ’ hundred years ago were nailed
For our advantage on the bitter cross.”

1 King Henry IV. I. 1.

God in a progressive Apocalypse, the esoteric Egyptian religion, the Decalogue, the Psalms, the Prophets, the Sermon on the Mount, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the progress of Christianity throughout the ages, — these are the stupendous themes which assail the awakened soul in the Holy Land, and fill the air as with the presence of archangels. In their company one prefers frequent withdrawal from average human companionship. As to the holiest of the soul’s experiences in such solitude, speech is silvern ; silence is golden.

The wise student in travel will not allow the heavenly visions to be obscured by the common dust of the Holy Land ; the great historic events, and the transfigured places, by the trivialities, the squalor, the offensive moral details of Arab and Turkish life. A strong grasp on great essentials, a rigorous inattention to unessentials, make the day electric among the holy hills : the reverse of these conditions may cause much of a traveler’s time there to become disenchanting and commonplace. It is important to be much alone in Palestine.

1. What are the experiences which live longest in the crowded gallery of memories which a traveler brings back from the Holy Land?

The approach to Jerusalem for the first time ; the cloud of historic presences ; the holy hush of the soul ; the earliest glimpse of the gray wall through the olive orchards ; the unutterable thoughts of the events which have ruled the world from Olivet and Calvary ; the trance of religious emotion ; the entrance through the Jaffa Gate near that tower of Hippicus, which Christ saw and Titus spared ; the ringing of the horse's hoofs on the pavement of Jerusalem.

The first visit to Gethsemane with its ancient olives and its immeasurably moving associations.

The earliest gaze from the height of the Mount of Olives westward upon Jerusalem as a whole, and eastward into that strange depression in which the Dead Sea lies.

The Holy Sepulchre, with its ever-burning lights shining on crowds of pilgrims from all Christendom, — Greek, Russian, Armenian, Syrian, Catholic, and Protestant, all gathered beneath one dome.

The first view of what was probably Calvary, — the skull-shaped height north of Jerusalem, visible from the walls and from Olivet and Scopus, and fully meeting, as no other place does, the requirements of the Scriptural picture of the Crucifixion and of the multitudes who came together at that sight, when the heavens were darkened and the rocks rent.

All the history of the Roman siege of Jerusalem, written, as it were, on the sky and on the hills.

The Jews' wailing place, in a city that has seen twenty-seven sieges ; the poor, clean costumes of the Jewish women ; the fine-fibred complexions ; the end-

lessly pathetic undulating cry, continued hour by hour, in presence of the few remaining great stones of the temple: "The heathen, O Lord, are come into thine inheritance;" and the answering echo of fulfilled prophecy: "They shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee."

A bath in the Jordan and one in the Dead Sea, in which it is nearly impossible to sink.

A morning in the fields in which Ruth gleaned with Boaz.

A morning, a noon, a sunset, a night in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem.

A noon beneath Abraham's oak and at the cave of Macpelah.

A morning at Jacob's well in presence of Ebal and Gerizim.

The unchanged stupendous outlook from the hill behind Nazareth, vast snowy Hermon in the north-east, the Jordan Valley and the Esdraelon plain to the south, Carmel and the Mediterranean to the west, — the very horizon that Christ saw.

A Sabbath on a convent roof at the edge of the sea of Tiberias, and among the flaming oleanders of the plain of Gennesaret.

A morning among the nets that fishermen spread on the ruins of Tyre, and another at Sidon.

Damascus and its sea of gardens and its street called Straight.

Baalbec with its colossal hewn stones, the largest ever built into any structure erected by man.

Lebanon uttering its farewells to the setting and its greetings to the rising sun, and in company with moon and stars.

2. Is Palestine ever to rise from the desolation into which she has been trodden down by six hundred years of the tyranny of the Mohammedan races? The hoof of the Turkish power is said to cause every green thing it touches to wither. When the tread of this hoof ceases to be felt in Palestine, will her vineyards bend once more with heavy clusters, will her valleys grow green again, will her deserts blossom as the rose?

Crossing the peaceful, undulating wheat-fields of the plain of Sharon on a beautiful afternoon, it was my fortune on a second visit to the Holy Land to commence the ascent of the highlands of the interior of Palestine just at sunset. Up rose the shield of the orb of night, broad, clear, shimmering in its golden vividness, with a beauty not often seen outside of Oriental climes. Its shape was strange, however, and a sickly pallor began to overspread its disk. I knew not what was to happen, and supposed that some optical illusion was caused by the state of the atmosphere. In a very few minutes more the lower limb of the moon began to be eaten away by a dense black shadow, and little by little the obscuration extended over the whole orb. The night was unspeakably solemn. The moon appeared like a translucent ball of amber floating among the constellations. Its position was not far from the Pleiades, Taurus, and Orion. The air seemed fuller of historic presences than the sky of stars. While we ascended the limestone slopes and drove through the gnarled dark ravines this eclipse went through its various stages. Before we reached the Holy City it had passed away. Above

Mount Zion and the Valley of the Kedron and the Mount of Olives hung the orb of night in fleckless azure. Great Sirius was flashing above Bethlehem. The outlook into the heavens above, as into the heavens within the soul, appeared supernatural. I do not know when, by any entrance into Jerusalem, which I have approached from various points several times in different visits, I have been so impressed as by this approach during an eclipse and by this entrance after its departure. In that eclipse of the moon I had before me a representation of Palestine under the degrading tyrannies of Islam. The full orb in the top of the heavens is reformed Palestine. For one I believe that we shall see this orb floating unobscured just as soon as Turkish power is driven out of Europe and Asia Minor. May Providence speed the day of such deliverance! Would God that Palestine were under a wise European protectorate!

Palestine is a bridge between the Valley of the Nile and that of the Tigris and Euphrates. In the most celebrated earlier ages of sacred history these valleys contained the foremost civilization of the earth, except that which was coming into existence in Rome and Greece. In the great periods of Old Testament history, Egypt and Assyria were constantly sending armies over the bridge of Palestine. Intellectual, social, military, religious influences stormed to and fro over this narrow highway, and Palestine was able thus to take into its very heart the foremost impulses and the best thought of the world, as well as the worst. Sometimes trodden down under the tyrannies of Babylon, the Holy Land was yet the

teacher of its greatest oppressors. Large parts of its population, however, were so infected by the poisons of the Valley of the Tigris and Euphrates as to drop off from the divine stem and wither, and have drifted into oblivion in history.

Palestine never will be as great politically and industrially as she has been until the Valley of the Nile and that of the Tigris and Euphrates are again as great as they once were in matters political and literary, commercial and religious. Fill up the Valley of the Nile with a better civilization; let liberty and order be introduced into Asia Minor; let the historic soil between Mount Lebanon and the head of the Persian Gulf be traversed by a railway which would not need to be as long as the Pacific Railway from Omaha to San Francisco, and would by no means be as difficult to build; let the advance of the Occident toward the rising sun bring noble industries into Egypt and the old lands once governed by the Medes and Persians; let either Russia or England, or any power to whom God in his providence may assign this huge task, regenerate the valleys of the Nile and Euphrates, and I believe that Palestine may again rise and shine politically and industrially, and, if God will, religiously.

As I do not see any immediate prospect of the swift regeneration of the Valley of the Euphrates, and no very definite promise of that of the Nile, I am not one of those who think that Palestine soon, under the stimulus of colonization from America or Europe, or under incitements from the return of the Jews, is to rise to industrial or political greatness.

She is, indeed, greatly altered in her physical capacities. The old terraces are broken down. The foxes have their holes and the birds their nests where prophecy predicted that they should have them. I am not sure that mountainous Palestine can ever be made to seem to be a fertile region to those who have had homes on the fat lands of the Rhine or the Thames, the Hudson or the Mississippi. To-day Palestine, in large parts, is so desolate that the twittering birds cannot fly over it without haversacks. You are confronted in nearly all directions with desolation fulfilling prophecy to the letter.

Nevertheless, there are signs of improvement in many portions of the Holy Land, and on these a visitor there dwells with the utmost interest. There is a new Jerusalem growing up outside the walls of the old city. As travelers here will justify me in saying, the new city is much more pleasant as a residence than the old one, and in everything except historic associations is the more dignified part of that great collection of stone dwellings on the ancient sites of the sacred city. Russia is doing marvelous things for the progress of the Greek Church at Jerusalem; the Armenian and the Romish Churches are effecting many improvements there.

3. Are the scattered Israelites of the world likely to be restored in any large numbers to the land of their ancestors?

A certain amount of immigration is setting into the Holy Land from all parts of the Jewish world — not a very deep tide nor broad, only a little rill; and not always the young people at that. You go to the

Jews' wailing-place, and in the hours you stand there, watching the swaying forms of the mourners, as they read the lamentations of the prophets over the beautiful stones of their temple, you notice again and again that the proportion of old men is very large. With fine quality of fibre, clearness of skin, no vicious opaqueness of complexion, such as you meet with only too often in the polygamous Arab or Turk, these people are plainly elect even yet ; but they have come there to die. They have schools, they teach pupils to be sent into various parts of the world ; Jerusalem is becoming the headquarters of modern Israel ; but there is not depth nor breadth enough in this immigration to produce swift changes in the Holy Land. It appears certain that nothing can regenerate Palestine to the extent of its capacity, in the present state of the Nile Valley and the Euphrates, except the withdrawal of all Syria from under the Turkish power.

4. What are the prospects of a railway through the Valley of the Euphrates ?

Should the Turkish Empire dissolve and the states in the Valley of the Euphrates and in Asia Minor become prosperous, their interests would gradually force the construction of a railway from Constantinople, or from the site of ancient Antioch, to the head of the Persian Gulf. England has most weighty reasons for building such a road. It would greatly shorten her path to India. It would be a bulwark against the aggressions of Russia in Western Asia. It would be the line of simplest inter-communication between the markets of Asia and Europe. Ex-

tended to the west bank of the Indus, and connected with the system of rapid inter-communication in India, the Euphrates Valley railroad would bring London within seven days of Calcutta, and become a crowded highway between Occident and Orient. Since the capture of Kars, Russia dominates in the Valley of the Euphrates ; but a railroad from Constantinople to India ought to be constructed and protected by international agreement between the greater and lesser powers that need it most. Americans are naturally surprised that a road so easy of construction, and politically and commercially so important, has not already been built.

5. What is to be said of the proposed canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea through the Valley of the Jordan ?

It were unpardonable not to notice the scheme for a Jordan canal, although the enterprise may turn out to be only a dream. The Suez Canal is easily blocked in time of war or cholera. Ships are not allowed to move through it at a greater speed than that of five miles an hour. A second canal must be opened between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. England, India, Australia, and all other commercial nations demand this increased facility of intercourse. It is thought to be cheaper to cut a canal through Palestine by the way of the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea than through the sands of Egypt. Open a canal from the coast near Acre across the Plain of Esdraelon to the Jordan, and the waters of the Mediterranean would be admitted to the Dead Sea. The cutting would need to be only twenty-five miles long

and of no great depth. The head of the gulf of Akaba is separated from the Dead Sea by a bold ridge and rocky upland not yet surveyed. It might be difficult, but of course not impracticable, to cut through these. Once beyond this barrier, the waters would flow down the slope from the Red Sea to the Dead Sea. The immense depression in which the latter lies would be filled. A lake would be formed extending to the northern shore of the Sea of Galilee. Jericho and Tiberias would be covered. The waters would rise on the east of the Mount of Olives to within ten miles of Jerusalem. That city would thus become an important sea-port. It might be made, commercially as well as religiously, the joy of the whole earth. I venture no prediction as to the success of this scheme, but the London journals discuss it gravely, and a responsible company has been formed with a British lord at its head, to carry out the bold and strategic enterprise.

6. Does England wish to rule Egypt? Is the land of the Nile, as well as the Suez Canal, likely to fall under the control of the British Empire?

There are two Englands. A republican England, which believes in government of the people, for the people, and by the people; and an England of the privileged classes, which has very haughty, imperialistic ideas and precedents. Republican England does not wish to annex Egypt. Republican England is no more aggressive than our republic is. It is as anxious to do justice to every weak nation on the borders of the British Empire as we, since the abolition of slavery, are anxious to do justice to our neighbors. But

imperialistic England, sometimes called Tory England, is yet a mighty force in history; and its last and probably greatest leader, Lord Beaconsfield, was accustomed to say that England is essentially an Asiatic power. That party wishes to make England an African power as well as an Asiatic, and it may yet have opportunity to do so. It is to be remembered that Mr. Bright resigned his position in a proud British cabinet because he felt that the moral law was not observed in the actions of England toward Egypt. Mr. Gladstone, replying to his former colleague, said that he and Mr. Bright agreed perfectly as to the general proposition that the moral law applies to the relations of nations as well as to those of individuals; but that they differed as to the application of that law to the particular case of Egypt. The Brights and Gladstones and those who follow them will treat Egypt, I have no doubt, with perfect justice. I am not assailing the party they represent; but the imperialistic party may come to power in Parliament at any time. It has fought unjust wars in China sometimes, in India not twice or thrice only, in South Africa at least once, and not infrequently in the Levant. That party is exceedingly anxious that the whole of Egypt, as well as the Suez Canal, should be under British control.

7. When Turkey is driven out of Europe, is it possible that the Mohammedan Caliphate may be restored to Cairo or Mecca?

Nearly every able man that you meet among the Arabs and Turks and Egyptians thinks the Caliphate likely to become Arabic whenever the Turks lose

Constantinople. At Jerusalem I heard of nothing so much in the political world as the probable revival of such a Caliphate. There are now only about 2,100,000 of the Turkish Mohammedans in Europe; but there are 175,000,000 Mohammedans in the world, and of these only 20,000,000 are Turks. What if these 2,100,000 Mussulmans in Europe should be unseated from the saddle of Constantinople? What if the prestige of their present position should be lost? Do you believe that the vast majority of Mohammedans who are Arabs would consent to be dominated by 20,000,000 Turks, who would have no Constantinople to give them *éclat*? The truth is that the downfall of Constantinople as a Turkish capital would very probably be followed by an effort to reëstablish the Caliphate, and to place it either at Cairo or at Mecca; at least under Arab control, somewhere in the more Southern lands of Islam.

8. What ought to be the attitude of England toward the Moslem world as a whole?

Here is a very recent elaborate English book on the future of Islam, written by a gentleman who spent a long time in Mecca. ("The Future of Islam," by W. S. Blunt. London, 1882.) He enters into the matter as a politician, and arranges 175,000,000 of the Moslem world in their subdivisions, and he makes out a strong case to the effect that England ought to aid the reëstablishment of the Caliphate, to put herself into the position of protector of the Caliphate, and thus draw under her general political influence the whole world of Islam. That is an imperialistic idea. There would be vigorous oppo-

sition to it made by republican England. Parties in Great Britain are keenly divided about the English Egyptian policy ; but it is a sign of the times when a cautious conservative like Joseph Cowen, member of Parliament, goes to Newcastle, and affirms in a public speech that England must annex Egypt, and that her doing this will be the destruction of the European Turkish Empire and the beginning of a North African British Empire. Many a friend of the Beaconsfield foreign policy thinks that England has as much right to govern in Cairo as she has to rule in Calcutta. (See Dicey's "Egypt," and G. W. Vyse's "Egypt.") Many a recent British political essay maintains precisely this proposition. Egypt is the key to the whole British Empire. There is no safety for England's interests in the Suez Canal, certain writers think, unless England governs the whole of Egypt. She must govern the canal or put herself in danger of losing India. So considerate, so tender-hearted, so Christian a man as David Livingstone once said, in Bombay, with the applause of a great audience, that what England has done for India she must ultimately do for all Africa.

Over the taffrail of many a ship I have leaned with British officers, naval and civil, who were friends of the imperialistic policy in English politics, and have heard them say : "We must take Egypt. If we do not, France will. We must extend our dominions up the Nile ; we must push our Cape settlements north, through the Dutch colonies ; and who knows but that we shall ultimately annex Liberia to Sierra Leone ?" Only the other day, a British ship

off the coast of Liberia demanded, in the haughty, imperialistic tone which republican England detests as much as you and I do, the rectification of a certain boundary according to English ideas. We find our American Stanley in conflict at the centre of Africa at this moment with French authorities. He represents Belgium. The great powers of the world have their eye on Africa, and England means to have her usual share—that is, the lion's half. It is no doubt true, my friends, that there is vehement opposition to these ideas in England. Many a republican English gentleman of Mr. Bright's or Mr. Gladstone's opinions, I have heard say: "We do not want Egypt. To annex it to the empire would bring us into war with the great powers of Europe. If we were to try and keep it, we could not manage it so as to make it profitable to ourselves, and the complications it might lead to, if we were to take it, no man can foresee. Under Gladstone we should never attack Egypt. We must hold our place in the Canal—the world agrees that we should have free passage through it; but what do we want of Egypt as a whole? Perhaps we ought to control one railway across the Delta; and by and by there may be a railway opened down the Euphrates Valley, giving us a new road to India." With such a railway open to her use, if not under her control, and with another across Egypt, it is very difficult to see why England needs the whole of Egypt; but the imperial party has always had large wants. "We can govern Egypt," some Englishmen say, "better than her own people can; therefore we ought to do it." Over and over the im-

perialistic party has attacked weak nations in the Orient, for no other reason than to advance British interests.

What is the secret whisper of diplomacy in Europe? "Let England have Egypt; let the Ottoman Empire be driven out of Europe; let Russia have a large part of Asia Minor, and, perhaps, Constantinople, if she will not attack England when she takes Egypt; let France have Tunis; let Italy have, perhaps, Tripoli; let Germany and Austria move down the Danube." Who knows but that Austria and Germany may unite in making annexations along the valley of that river, when the Turks are driven out, and so be prevented from attacking England, if she wishes to put Egypt in her waistcoat pocket? At any rate, it will be essential to fill the mouth of the Northern bear with a fat slice of Asia Minor, and, possibly, with that huge sweet morsel, for which the bear has been longing for so many centuries, a passage out of the Black Sea into the Mediterranean and a strong foothold in Constantinople itself. Perhaps these rearrangements of the map could be made and no great war arise.

Napoleon used to say: "Whoever governs Egypt is best qualified to govern both Europe and Asia." He wished to deprive the British Empire of its possessions in the East and to restore the ancient road to India. He wrote to the French Directory: "By seizing and holding Egypt, I grasp and command the destinies of the civilized world." Napoleon professed the Mohammedan faith when he went into his Egyptian campaign. There are documents, which lately

have come to light, showing that Napoleon had mighty schemes of Asiatic dominion, and that this profession of the faith of Islam was intended to be the commencement of the fulfillment of gigantic projects as to the world of Islam. If he had succeeded in Egypt — if British naval power had brought no speedy end to the career of the great Bonaparte in the Valley of the Nile — who knows but that his wings would have spread ultimately from Gibraltar to the foot of the Himalayas? His ghost walks yet in the shadows of the Pyramids, as well as on the banks of the Seine. There are men advising England now to follow the old Napoleonic ideas. France is too much divided against herself to carry out the schemes of her greatest emperor. England has the power, and, if she can conciliate Germany and France and Italy, and most especially Russia, who knows but that she will yet execute the mighty plan of the great Napoleon?

9. Will Mohammedanism spread more rapidly than Christianity in Africa? What influence will the reforms now in progress in the Valley of the Congo have on the future of Islam?

If the International Association of the Congo succeeds in opening the heart of Africa to Christian civilization, Islam will lose its chief recruiting grounds. In case the Free State of the Congo becomes prosperous, Christianity is likely to make rapid advances in the heart of the Dark Continent, and so to close the most important field of Mohammedan propagandism. The career of Islam is likely to be brought to a pause in Africa, as it has been in Europe, and must soon be in Asia, by the rivalry of Christianity.

10. Has Mohammedanism self-regenerating power? Is Islam likely to be reformed from within?

The Wahhabite reformation in the eighteenth century resulted in the decapitation of its leader in front of St. Sophia's at Constantinople. The sect he founded numbers now only about 8,000,000, and is in a state of decline.

The political power of Mohammedanism is likely to receive a severe shock from the perhaps not distant dissolution of the Turkish Empire, and yet it may endure for ages in Arabia. There is a Mohammedan University in Cairo in which many thousands of pupils are taught fanatical devotion to Islam. The teachers sit at the feet of the pillars in the great Azhar Mosque with their scholars gathered in semi-circles on the marble pavements around them. This theological school is now practically independent of Turkish control. It is the headquarters of Arabian theology. It has declared itself the home of independent thought in Islam. It supports with vigor the Arabic and Egyptian party of reform. At the same time, it preserves moderation of tone, and favors no schism. On the downfall of the Turkish Empire, this school is likely to demand the return of the Caliphate to Cairo, and to restore to the Arabian mind its lost religious leadership.

Until it gives up polygamy and the Koran, Mohammedanism carries fatal diseases within itself, but when it gives up these it will cease to be Mohammedanism. Under severe pressure from Christian governments, Islam may abandon slavery and learn to live at peace with Christianity; but, left to itself,

it is almost certain to continue to make death the penalty for the abandonment of the Mussulman faith by any subject of a Mohammedan power. Unless polygamy and the Koran are abandoned, the religious and the political power of Islam must decline together. In presence of the advances of Christianity, intelligent Mussulmen themselves admit that the proper symbol of the present prospects of their faith is a waning crescent.

“ The moon of Mahomet
Arose, and it shall set ;
While, blazoned as on Heaven’s immortal noon,
The Cross leads generations on.”

ILLUSTRATIVE EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS AND JOURNALS.

ABRAHAM'S OAK, HEBRON, *May 9.*

I HEAR the morning wind in Abraham's oak, and think of that most mysterious historical process by which first one man, then a family, then a people, then a church separated from the world have fulfilled to the letter prophecies written in the oldest books known to man. Abraham began circumcision of the flesh ; his family recognized only God as their ruler ; Moses brought the descendants of the family out of Egypt organized as a church rather than as a state, himself claiming no headship ; the long history of the nation, until a king was permitted to be chosen, was that of a theocracy ; the kings were contrary to the fundamental idea of a society ruled only by the King of kings ; after the captivity the Jews were much more a church than a state, except in so far as Herod, an usurper, and his family broke in upon the order of the theocracy ; Christ came, and an universal church took the place of the chosen nation, was its successor and expansion, in fact ; and that church recognizes as its Supreme Ruler only God, and teaches circumcision of the heart.

I care little for difficulties in respect to the method of interpreting particular details in this transcend-

ently grand succession of events, all pointing to one end. It is historically beyond all dispute that the chosen church has succeeded the chosen nation, as that did the chosen family, and that the chosen man. *God intends to do what He does do.* History, therefore, is not only a record of what God has done, but of what He from eternity intended to do. Providence designs to accomplish whatever it does accomplish. Every large and small event, every cause and consequence among events, because after their occurrence actual, were before their occurrence intentional. You can judge, therefore, why I am moved by standing where the chosen man lived, and the chosen family lie buried. It is not that Abraham touched this spot, but that God has touched it. Circumcision of the flesh, the type of final circumcision of the heart, began here a course of entirely indisputable events, which we are certain that Providence intended from the first to bring to pass, because it is safe to say that God intends to do what He does do. The theocracy begun here in one man spread to a family, then to a nation, then to a universal church; and that kingdom promises perpetuity as no other on the earth does. Now, as from the beginning, circumcision of the heart is the condition of citizenship in the theocracy, the only true government on earth and the only in heaven. This vast historic process is what moves me here; and, as the oak sounds, ages seem to pass through its boughs, and the giant branches to stretch their arms, like God's plan, east, west, north, south, above all nations and times, not excepting yours and mine. I seal up here with this letter a leaf from the oak.

BANK OF THE JORDAN, Morning, *May 6.*

Moses on Mount Nebo yonder, at that death of his which was the beginning of centuries of an historic life not ended yet; the weary exiles from Egypt passing across this river in a great multitude after forty years' wanderings; Elisha and Elijah and the chariots of fire; the baptism here of Him who has now for eighteen hundred years governed the best portion of the world,—such is the spiritual landscape, as I sit here among the willows, tamarisks, and oleanders at the very edge of the swift, murmurous, flashing Jordan. You see this historical outlook, however, from across the Atlantic as well as I; let me, therefore, describe only the physical scene, although this is far less impressive than the invisible spiritual scene. The Plain of Jericho is only about ten miles broad, and is very desolate, except at its centre along the west side, where three or four small streams burst from unquenchable fountains. Coming this morning from Jericho to the Jordan, the roadside was almost treeless and verdureless through the two miles nearest the river, except only the last two or three hundred yards, where a tangled mass of rich vegetation makes a scene almost like a park in England or America. The water lies low, and is not visible until you are just at its edge. It is brown, but not muddy; it resembles the water of the Nile more than that of the Tiber. I bathed at the point where the Greek pilgrims annually immerse themselves in the river. I walked in a strong current on the stony bottom completely across the one hundred and fifty or two hundred feet breadth of the sacred stream, and plucked some foliage of which I inclose a part.

SHORE OF THE DEAD SEA, Noon, *May 6.*

I write to you now on the shore of the Dead Sea, 1,292 feet below the surface of the Mediterranean, and 3,800 feet below Jerusalem, and yet the heat on this 6th of May, with a south wind blowing, is hardly greater here on the edge of the lowest sheet of water in the world than it is often in the New England June. This is my exceedingly good fortune on this journey; for usually, even in early spring, the air here is like the blast of a furnace. Comprehensible enough, however, even to-day, as I look at the dim haze of evaporation shutting off the view southward at a distance of some ten or twelve miles, is the fact that the Jordan is lost here. The river is simply drawn up into the thirsty air. The Dead Sea bowl has its outlet into the winds and the clouds. The mouths of these gape wide coming fiercely heated now from Arabian, now from African, now from Syrian, now from Persian deserts. In some terrible moment of geologic history, the crust of the earth seems to have broken here all the way from beyond the south end of the Dead Sea to the upper sources of the Jordan. The eastern part stood firm and makes now the wall of the Moab mountains; the western sank to a slope and forms the descent from the ridge of Palestine to the Dead Sea. All the south end of this mysterious lake, however, is very shallow, while the rest is very deep; and my theory is that an earthquake and volcanic agency burned and submerged the formerly fruitful region at that south end where stood the leprous cities of the plain.

Falling on my face with arms folded in this water,

I float like so much wood in common water. Lying on my back with hands on my hips, I could sleep in the centre of the lake! In a bath here I have tried every position, and never knew a hammock so restful as these waves. The beach is pebbly; the water clear: the shores silent, rocky, almost verdureless, except for tufts of stunted shrubs at two places. I shall mail this letter at Jerusalem, but it is signed and sealed here, and made dry by sand from this sounding shore.

NAZARETH, *May 16.*

Yesterday at sunset, after a ride past the mountains of Gilboa and through Jezreel, Nain, and Endor, I came to the green, solemn, quiet, narrow valley among the gnarled hills from which Nazareth looks on the wide Plain of Esdraelon. At this moment I am writing at the top of the hill behind the town, on its northwest side, at a point where a portion of the ancient city must have stood, and which, by the common confession of travelers, commands positively the richest and most extensive prospect to be obtained at any one place in all Palestine.

On every side the view is wonderful: snowy, gigantic Hermon, 9,376 feet high in the distance on the northeast; the rounded, thinly wooded, breezy summit of Tabor on the east; the brown, blue, and purple wall of the Moab mountains next; then the great rent in which lie the lower Jordan and the Dead Sea, plainly enough lower than the Mediterranean, and so low as to be both of them invisible from here, though the depression seems on that account none the less mysterious; southeast, the brown, rocky slopes of

Little Hermon and of the mountains of Gilboa, with the most important battle-fields of Palestine between them; then south and southwest, the twelve miles' wide expanse of the green, yellow, and brown Plain of Esdraelon; beyond it on the southwest the eighteen miles long and partially wooded low ridge of Mt. Carmel, terminating in the sea; lastly, blue, shoreless toward the west, far-flashing, through two bold, wide stretches, one south and one north of Mt. Carmel, the Mediterranean itself.

Hermon, Esdraelon, and the Mediterranean are the commanding objects here.

But the filling up of the great outlines is soft with thick wild thyme on the hills, the deep green of the fig-trees and the silver-grayish green of the olives in the valleys, rustling yellow and green wheat fields on the hill slopes, in fat narrow glens, and on the one great plain.

Think of Esdraelon as of the shape of a barbed spear head or Indian's arrow. Its general form is triangular: its point near the Mediterranean, its broad end toward the Jordan. But three lesser plains run from the broad end completely to the Jordan Valley, or nearly to it; and these I call the Jennin barb, the Jezreel stem, and the Mt. Tabor barb of the spear head. In the Jezreel stem, between Mt. Gilboa on the south and Little Hermon on the north, a space about two miles wide, all the great battles of the Plain of Esdraelon have been fought. There King Saul was ruined; there Gideon overthrew the Midianites; there Sisera was defeated; near there Napoleon, with 5,000 men, successfully resisted 30,000 in

a conflict lasting seven hours. Mt. Carmel forms the southwestern side of the main portion of the arrow head ; and over against it, these Nazareth mountains constitute the northwestern side. Opposite the widest portion of the plain, and looking down from a height of 1,637 feet above the sea, this hill of Nazareth, where I write, has incomparably the most glorious and educating points of view to be found in Palestine for that youth and that early manhood which were certainly passed here, and which have governed now for eighteen centuries the deepest education of the world.

It was fit that He should look on this great and wide sea whose kingdom was to be chiefly beyond that shoreless horizon of the west. It was appropriate that the sublimity of Hermon should be gazed upon from here by Him whose reign is to be more lasting than the mountains that cannot be moved. I am amazed as I look north, south, east, and west at the natural and historical grandeur, comprehensiveness, and beauty of every part of the view. I think whose feet trod these hills of wild thyme and I am silent.

NAZARETH, *May 20.*

It draws toward sunset as I pause here at the edge of a rustling grove of olive-trees in the centre of the green, quiet, solemn valley from which Nazareth and its chief hill look on Esdraelon, Tabor, Carmel, the Mediterranean, and Great Hermon. In all Palestine there is, it is said, no more rich and extensive prospect than that I have just named, seen from the hill on the north of Nazareth, and certainly

the other views I have myself had are each inferior to that. During the youth and early manhood of the life that has changed the course of the ages, He, who was chief among ten thousand, must have often looked here upon the wide, far-flashing sea, beyond which, in Gentile nations, his kingdom was to have during eighteen centuries its chief seats; and upon snowy gigantic Hermon, itself not to be as enduring as that kingdom. I am astonished that in reading much of Nazareth I never understood how incomparably grand this prospect north, south, east, and west is from the hill, on the slope of which Nazareth was and is built, its highest houses not looking on the wonderful view, but themselves within a bow-shot now of the points that command the outlook, and anciently perhaps yet nearer. I am impatient when I hear this little valley, a mile long and half a mile wide, the town on its northwestern side, spoken of as secluded. It is secluded only as an eagle's nest is at the summit of far-looking mountains. It stands on the heights of the ranges extending from Mt. Tabor to near the sea, on the north side of the great Plain of Esdraelon. If a swallow's nest beneath the eaves of a palace is secluded, then is Nazareth so, for it is built at the edge of the colossal roof of the palace of Palestine. It may be secluded from the population, but not from the natural scenery, and especially not from the historic sites of the oldest history of the Holy Land. This is a shallow valley at the summit and on the edge of a range of mountains, and Nazareth is thus a mountain city.

The sun has set, and with it the Mediterranean

wind, which makes the heat here very endurable by day, goes down in force a little; at midnight it will be cool and still. In the twenty acres of square, flat-roofed stone houses which make up the modern Nazareth, the great Franciscan church and convent, and a new Protestant church, are the most conspicuous buildings. There on the hill-slope are perhaps 5,000 people, more than half Christian, an exception to the rule in this or any part of Palestine, as the town itself is anomalous in its superior neatness and order. A few minutes before I began this letter, I met in a path of the copse of cactus yonder a missionary lady, plainly Protestant, not yet thirty years of age, her face radiant, and possibly twenty girl-pupils, many of them with interesting faces, trooping along with her on a sunset walk. Wheat rustles near me; sheaves are piled not far off; yonder three camels are at this moment being made to kneel down to be disburdened of their heavy loads of bundles from the yellow harvest. Sheep led by shepherds are being called home from the hills to the entrance to the town. As I seal up these flowers and leaves in this letter they have on them a slight evening dew.

SEA OF GALILEE, *May 19.*

The evidences of Christianity appear to me more powerful than ever, as I sit here on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, in sight of the elevation where probably the Sermon on the Mount was pronounced, and of the spots where the cities stood whose destruction was predicted, and which have disappeared so completely that scholarship to-day is at no agreement

with itself as to their special localities. The character exhibited in the Sermon on the Mount appears to me here, even more vividly than ever before, a perfect guaranty of the honesty and good judgment of Him who delivered it. Daniel Webster said on his death-bed, and caused to be written on his tombstone, that the Sermon on the Mount cannot be a merely human production. But the honesty and good judgment of which there is such proof, made the claim of miraculous power. Here were the cities which saw the mighty works upon which He who delivered the Sermon on the Mount laid such emphasis that He denounced in terms the most fearful those who were not convinced by these deeds. In the honesty and good judgment of the Sermon on the Mount, I find a guaranty for the honesty and intelligence of the claim as to miraculous power. This basin of the Sea of Galilee, moreover, in the opening of the first century, was not a spot in which things could be done in a corner. Crowded places of trade, Roman palaces, Jewish synagogues and villages, flocks of boats, and everywhere, except along the southeast shore, a murmur of men as constant as that of the waves, made the locality a metropolis. Because it was such, it was chosen by our Saviour as the chief scene of his teachings. Yet here those mysterious claims were put forth in the face of noon and with success, and side by side with the Parables and the Sermon on the Mount.

I have been here three nights and two days, one of them a Sabbath, and shall carry away with me vivid memories of almost every nook of the lake, and of all that is known as to the now obscure special sites,

the indeterminateness of which troubles me little, as the general scene is yet what it always was. The Sea of Galilee is pear-shaped. Lying six hundred feet below the Mediterranean, its shores have in places a tropical vegetation, contrasting strangely with the almost totally verdureless upper portions of the cliffs. As the breadth of the lake is from six to seven miles, and its length twelve and one half, our Saviour in crossing the sea to find retirement for devotion was accustomed to go at least five miles for that purpose.

DAMASCUS, *May 28.*

Contrasts of life and death fill all the scenery of the East ; but nowhere, not even from the summit of the Pyramids, nor in the Jordan Valley, have I seen the two set in more magnificent antithesis to each other than in this Plain of Damascus, on which I look as I write. Rainless for half the year, the level tract would be only a desert of drifting sand except for the river Barada, which here bursts out upon the thirsty acres, and fills a space fifteen miles long by seven wide with almost tropical growths of olives, figs, oranges, apricots, pomegranates, walnuts, lemons, quinces, peaches, mulberries, plums, pears, hazel-nuts, apples, cocoanuts, and a long list of other fruits.

In the centre of this green, heavily-wooded region lies Damascus, all its wealth due to the mountain river. Bomb never burst with death more effectually than the Anti-Lebanon stream here bursts with life. Seven canals divide the waters ; and in the plain every drop is under strictly legal protection. But north, south, east, and west of the space reached

by the moisture, all is brown and barren as Sahara itself. Death sets in at full tide at the edge of life at full tide. The mountains, except along the narrow gorges of streams, are absolutely verdureless limestone, rusty in places with gravel. No wonder that Mahomet, born in a thirsty land, should have been reported to have said, as he stood here: "Man can have but one Paradise: mine is above; I will not enter this city." Henry Thomas Buckle, the historian, at whose grave near Damascus I stood this morning, and who died here in his fortieth year, lamenting in his last words that his life's work was but just begun, said when he stood on this height: "This indeed repays me for all the toil and trouble I have had in coming here."

It is near sunset, and all the billowy green of the vegetation of the plain shows admirably in the slant javelins of radiance poured over the height of Kubbet Seijar. Here, looking on the farthest hills visible toward the Euphrates, it is not difficult to pass in imagination to that river; thence to the far, gigantic, snowy, and ice-bound tops of the Himalayas; then down the slope of China, then across the Japan mountains, then above the Pacific to the Sandwich Islands, thence to the Rocky Mountain Range, the Mississippi, the Great Lakes, the Adirondacks, and Boston. In America, my own, everything seems strangely near as I look not west, but east, and remember that when one passes far enough east one comes out at the west. All other history connected with this view of Damascus fades into insignificance compared with the one fact that at a place somewhere

yonder, but now lost to memory, Paul began the career that brought a new life to Europe.

RUINS OF BAALBEC, *May 29.*

The colossal ruins at Baalbec, now that I stand among them, impress me chiefly as a symbol of the deserved fate of a cruel and polluted paganism, and of the building of a true religion upon a false. Here are substructures with stones sixty-three and sixty-four feet long and thirteen high: probably they are Phœnician. Above these lie the ruins of two temples, a lesser, two hundred and fifty feet long; a greater, one thousand feet: from famous inscriptions which I have just been studying, it is known that the temples are Roman, of the age of Antoninus Pius, whose name is chiseled here. Last and upon all other earlier structures stood a massive Christian church or basilica, itself now destroyed, though the creed it honored governs the most enlightened parts of the world. Thus this accumulation of acres of broken pillars, capitals, friezes, pediments, arches, and platforms, exhibits in the dates and succession of its parts the order it has pleased Providence to follow in the religious history of mankind. I know not that something of the magnificence of these six great columns yet remaining erect out of the larger temple is not fitly enough transferred to the best temple of the true religious creed. There was a noble side even to the false religions, and that can be found here; but the infamies and abominations that these stones have witnessed make the ruddy sunset glow now falling upon them seem a not unnatural blush.

The world sees no longer the most civilized and powerful of its nations making it a part of religious worship to give up wives and daughters to Baal. In this very temple, Roman, Greek, and Phœnician united in doing that age after age. I remember the actor who was killed here for becoming a Christian ; and also the death of Cyril in Constantine's time. The men who reared these pillars could not be satisfied, after they had murdered Cyril, until they had tasted his liver.

I stand by the side of fragments of columns to the top of which, as they lie prostrate, I cannot reach. Three men joining hands could not encircle a pillar of the large, and hardly one of the nineteen standing in the small, temple. Up and up, seventy feet, stately stones are shot in smooth shafts, and then crowned with a frieze fourteen feet high. More massive than those of Greece, the columns here are yet of great apparent lightness as seen from afar ; they have the solidity of Egyptian and the grace of Athenian architecture combined. Many critics think them finer than anything else of the kind in all Western Asia, in Africa, or in Europe.

On one of the delicately sculptured niches I found a dragon and a snake represented well. These reptiles hiss no longer here in the name of Rome, of Greece, and of Heaven itself. Baalbec is a ruin : God be thanked ; a ruin !

II.

ADVANCED THOUGHT IN INDIA.

WITH A PRELUDE ON

REVIVALS, TRUE AND FALSE.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-EIGHTH LECTURE IN THE
BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN
TREMONT TEMPLE, FEBRUARY 26, 1883.

"We believe that, in his adorable wisdom, our moral Ruler has attached an inestimable importance to our life on earth; that all men who in this life repent of sin will, at their death, enter on a course of perfect and unending holiness; that all who throughout the present life remain impenitent sinners will remain so forever; that both the just and the unjust will be raised from death at the last day, will stand before the judgment-seat of Christ, and will receive from Him their awards according to the deeds done in the body; so that the wicked will go away into endless punishment, but the righteous into endless life." — *The Worcester Creed*, 1885.

"America has received the true religion of the old continent; the church of ancient times has been there, and Christ is from thence; but, that there may be an equality, and, inasmuch as that continent has crucified Christ, they shall not have the honor of communicating religion in its most glorious state to us, but we to them." — JONATHAN EDWARDS: *Revival of Religion in New England*.

Outside of Indus, inside Ganges, lies
A wide-spread country famed enough of yore;
Northward the peaks of caved Emódus rise,
And southward Ocean doth confine the shore:
She bears the yoke of various sovranities
And various eke her creeds. While these adore
Vicious Mafóma, those to stock and stone
Bow down, and eke to brutes among them grown.

CAMOENS.

"Wherever there is intelligence, in all stages of life, there dwells Christ, if Christ is the Logos. I plead for the eternal logos of the Fathers — a more universal Christ, — and I challenge the world's assent. This is the Christ who was in Greece and Rome, in Egypt and India. In the bards and poets of the Rig Veda was He. He dwelt in Confucius and in Sakya Muni." — KESHUB CHUNDER SEN.

PRELUDE II.

REVIVALS, TRUE AND FALSE.

SPIRITUAL efficiency is the measure of the worth of all creeds, sects, and churches. Efficiency in what? In delivering men from the love of sin and the guilt of it. We know beyond peradventure that without this double deliverance there can be no peace under the moral law which conscience reveals, and which ethical science itself proclaims, and which all the pages of revelation flame with, like so many Sinais. Lessing said that the ultimate test of the worth of sects would be found in their ability to produce new men, religious lives, spiritually regenerate populations. This is nothing but the yet unfathomed saying of the Scriptures: "By their fruits ye shall know them," — that is, creeds, theologies, sects, churches, ages. This is the scientific test, this is the biblical test, and to this crucial standard of judgment we must bring unflinchingly our luxurious churches, liberalistic literature, and siren pulpits.

American theology has been full of faults, which it becomes us to remember with humiliation of spirit; but it has attained, also, by the favor of Providence, a few peculiar excellences, which it becomes us to recognize with gratitude as Divine gifts. These have sprung, no doubt, in part from the necessities of

our condition and in part from the traits of American character. We are regarded as a practical nation, and I am willing to maintain the proposition that our theology is richer than any other on earth on the practical side. As a means of producing, by the blessing of Heaven, new lives in large populations, I had rather have scholarly and aggressive American theology of the New England new-school type, or of the Presbyterian type, or of the Baptist, Methodist, or Episcopalian, than average German, Anglican, or even Scottish theology. Since the days of Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield and John Wesley, no church on earth has been more distinguished than the American for revivals, unless it be the Scottish, in the time of the covenanting contest, or possibly the German, in a few of its most heroic years. In a wide outlook over the effect of presentations of religious truth to large populations, American theology, regarded as a summary of the points in which our evangelical bodies agree, and judged mercilessly by its fruits, need not as yet blush at its comparative record.

Professor Christlieb, of Bonn, is now earnestly endeavoring to introduce into Germany several of the methods of the free churches in Great Britain and the United States as a means of putting an end to the torpor, the barrenness, the iciness of much of the life of the state churches in the Fatherland. While a few people on this side of the Atlantic seem anxious to transplant from Germany the ideas that have produced torpor there and are at the bottom of a large part of the spiritual ineffectiveness of the European

state churches, the most evangelical of the German professors are endeavoring to transplant into Germany the incisive, practical ideas and methods of aggressive evangelical Christianity as they have been developed in Scotland and England, and especially under the free-church system of the United States. Would to God there were a thousand Edwardses, a thousand Whitefields, a thousand Wesleys, a thousand Lyman Beechers, a thousand Finneys, a thousand Moodys on the globe, and that ten of each of these classes could go around the world as evangelists every ten years! [Applause.]

The churches of different nations are rapidly acquiring a better knowledge of each other. National deficiencies ought to be supplemented by international imitations. The learning of the German universities is superior to ours. In a great variety of particulars we are behind Germany in matters of theoretical and scientific import; but we are in advance of Germany in the practical matters of church life. We are in advance of England as a whole; we are ahead of every nation on earth in this matter, probably, unless it be Scotland, and are likely soon to be in advance of Scotland herself. Filling up our deficiencies by the study of those traits which supplement our own, let us be careful not to underrate the special gifts which God has poured out upon American Christianity; let us reverence the practical side of aggressive, evangelical, Christian work; let us see to it we do not lose the traits which the rest of the world needs. We seem to be singled out by Providence for the defense of those aggressive methods by which free

churches can become strong in free states, and by which alone republics can be made safe. Nothing, according to my judgment, is more needed to-day in German church life, or in the average Anglican, or in that portion of the Church of Scotland that is yet an establishment, or by Protestantism on the Continent of Europe at large, than an imitation of American, evangelical, aggressive methods. This may look like professional or personal bias ; but I am not an evangelist, I am not a preacher. I am simply a student of the signs of the times, a lecturer, a friend of the church. The American methods of revival work in its best form, experience has shown to be superior to any which have been developed on foreign shores. We need not go abroad for instruction in the practical matters of Christian aggressiveness.

What will be the leading characteristics of the church for the times, if we are to take American experience as indicating the probable lines of development in Christian aggressiveness in free churches in ages to come ?

1. The church for the times will reach the whole population.

John Wesley said once : “ Beware how you invite rich men into your churches until you are sure they are Christian. Beware how you manage your churches in such a way that rich men will become a necessity to you. If your church buildings are so luxurious that you need an enormous income, wealthy men will be necessary to you, and they will rule you, and then you must soon bid farewell to Methodist discipline, and, perhaps, to Methodist doctrine.” A wiser

thing was never said; a more unpopular thing, perhaps, could hardly be repeated at this hour. As I am not a pastor or preacher, and as no one can suppose that I am making oblique personal references here, I venture to say that, even in republican America, and especially in the wealthy and fashionable society of cities, there are more than a few luxurious churches that do not want poor men as members. When a revival occurs, the question concerning many converts is, not "Are they soundly Christian?" but "How much are they worth?" [Laughter.] "What is their social standing?" "Am I willing to have one of these converts next me in a pew?" "Are they likely to add anything important to the financial or social strength of our society?" Under the voluntary system, we must have money and must draw rich men into the churches; but if they stand there on their money-bags, and ask to be measured not according to the height of their Christian character, but according to the height of these pedestals of worldliness — wealth, social position, hereditary rank, connection with public affairs — then I say the time has come for us to cast abroad God's truths as scythes, and mow down all these unnatural growths! On the floor of God's house he is tallest who is nearest to God. [Loud applause.]

Let nobody suppose that I am opposing rich men as a class. A man is a man even though his father was rich. [Laughter.] There have been in this country and there are now among us rich men who are apostles. Lately there fell in New York city the

central trunk of a banyan-tree, of which it has been well said by Dr. Cuyler that it threw down a stem into almost every land of the globe. William E. Dodge spread abroad his benefactions, his personal Christian effort, his oversight of great religious enterprises, until he was a power in India, a power in the Sandwich Islands, a power in Japan, a power in half the States of this Union. [Applause.] We have many men, not known to the public and not very wealthy, who are the almoners of the churches, of the philanthropic institutions, of the colleges and the schools. On the whole, there is no country in the world where wealth is more generous than here, unless it be Great Britain, but wealth there is concentrated in a privileged class and in a powerful middle class, so that a comparison can hardly be made at all points with fairness. Everything considered, many wealthy men here must be regarded as princes of generosity. But the time comes, occasionally, when it is necessary to say that men must be measured by character, and not by their purses or their social pedestals. We must resist, therefore, the idea that any church is too good to be enlarged from any part of the population of a city. For one, I think, there is no church even in Boston that ought to be above adding to its membership converts from the North End. [Applause.] I have heard of a church in New York city that lost a large part of its membership by people emigrating up the island; and, finally, the population around it became so bad that, according to Dr. Pentecost's admirable statement, the church itself emigrated. There were no longer any

people around it which its members cared to associate with. [Laughter.]

These shrewd pastors behind me are men of bravery. They have entered the ministry not from financial motives, for there are no financial motives to lead men into the ministry. They have obtained a collegiate education, they have gone through long years of professional training, and now they stand as God's apostles before the masses of the people. They preach to save souls, and yet there are times when even their courage is tried by lofty pride in wealthy churches, and an unexpressed feeling that some men are too corrupt in their past connections, or too low in their present social standing, or too poor to be attractive persons in a luxurious house of God. I call any such meeting place for a select few a club-house. A luxurious church that is not ready to receive membership from any quarter of the population is a social preserve, and not a church. [Applause.]

The worst two evils within the domain of Christendom in our time are probably luxurious living among church-members and loose thinking among religious teachers. When the two go together and we have a religious club instead of a church,—a club in which, of course, it would be uncourteous to suppose that there are any sinners, a club that has forgotten that all men are brethren, and that the business of the church is to stand between the living and the dead; when we have a number of such churches connected by close social ties, and, perhaps, giving direction to great central currents in the religious life of a city,—the time then has come to unite all the

powers of the pulpit, the press, and the platform against the choking of God's most holy truth by purse-strings and by ribbons and by dashes of the lavender waters of liberalism. One fifth of our population lives in large cities. Under the voluntary system of church life in the United States it is likely to be our prevailing trouble that when Judas carries the bag and betrays his Lord, he will not always have the grace to go and hang himself [laughter], and that church members will not usually have the grace to hang him.

2. The church for the times will emphasize the hidden half of Christian unity.

If it cannot secure church union, it will secure Christian union. It will call often for union meetings of all evangelical denominations, and organize united efforts for common purposes.

3. The church for the times will ascertain what hinders individuals from accepting Christianity; it will receive questions and organize searching inquiries as to the current obstacles to conversion.

If I were a pastor, I should do again what I did once, when for a year I was acting pastor: keep a question-box open constantly for those timid people who cannot go to a pastor's study and discuss their difficulties with him. I might have a committee to examine the questions and weed out frivolous and vexatious ones; but very few of these would be put in after all, as you would find by experience. Several pastors, to my knowledge, have tried question-boxes in their churches, and, with a certain wise oversight, differing in each individual case, these en-

terprises have turned out well. Either in my Sabbath-school or at the church door, I would have a question-box always open for anonymous written inquiries on the topics discussed in the pulpit or in the Sabbath-school. I would bring out in all ways the secret intellectual and moral difficulties of my parish, and thus I would learn to fire, not into the air, but at the white of the eye. Romanism has its confessional, and Protestantism ought to be permitted to have its question-box, to reveal the wants of the people. The secret of securing attention is to say the thing that needs to be said; but one method of ascertaining what needs to be said is to study carefully the secret questions the people are raising.

4. The church for the times will teach church-members to give a reason for the faith that is in them.

There ought to be in every Sunday-school one class in Christian apologetics, besides occasional courses of lectures on this subject before every congregation.

5. The church for the times will teach all church-members to converse on personal religion with the religiously irresolute.

In the winter season most of the devotional meetings of the church, or, at least, one such meeting a week, ought to be closed by conversations between the church-members present and any religiously irresolute persons who are willing to remain for such conversations. At a devotional meeting, you have made an earnest address on some incisive point of evangelical truth, and at the close of the service you

announce the doxology. But before it is sung you give notice that all who are religiously irresolute are requested to remain for conversation with church-members. If any must leave, they go out while the hymn is being sung; but those who remain, by that act open the door to conversation. Without any discourtesy you may approach such persons on the most sacred topics of personal religion. Let your church-members converse with every one of those who remain; go with these members yourself, and hear enough of the conversation to know whether wise advice is given. You say church-members cannot be trusted to do this work? They can with a proper amount of teaching from their pastor. He is a wretched church-member who does not know how to answer the question, "What must I do to be saved?" But here is a man whose bargains the last week, it may be, have run as close to lies as the eyelid to the eyeball, and the neighbor he has cheated sits at his side, and this shrewd merchant is expected to talk with his neighbor on the conditions of salvation. The discipline is as good for the merchant as for his neighbor. [Applause.] Nothing makes a live man out of a dead man so soon as to set the dead man at the work of producing life in another dead man. These conversations quicken the church immensely.

6. The church for the times will prepare for revivals, as the spring prepares in its earlier for its later season.

Religious conversations ought to be made a standard part of devotional meetings in the church, in our climate, in the winter. But the whole world is not

in our climate. There are churches that ought to be like the tropical forests, always bringing forth fruit, always filled with blossoms, — buds here opening, fruit there dropping. Our seasons are such that in the long evenings of winter we have special opportunities ; and this proves only that our church affairs should be managed something as the agricultural affairs of our zone are. Let us always be preparing to put in the seed, or putting in seed, or reaping the harvest.

7. The church for the times will protect the fruit of revivals, as the summer ripens the births of spring.

My central idea concerning revivals is that what are called the evils of revivals, by those who oppose them, usually arise because proper work has not been done before the revivals, or is not done after them. A revival is only like the opening of the clouds in the spring and the beating down of the sunlight ; or like the dropping of the gentle showers and the vernal rains. What will the sunlight, what will the rain do without the deep planting of the seed, or without the careful watching of the fields after the tender shoots have sprung forth ?

Mr. Moody's revivals have turned out thoroughly well in every case where they have been followed up properly. A few men say his work here or there has not eventuated well. Did the pastors follow it up ? Was the seed deeply planted before he came ? He is nothing but the shower, he is nothing but the opening in the clouds. God seems to speak through some evangelists ; He gives them power to open the

heavens and let the sunlight in upon spiritual fields. By endowment of Heaven, this capacity was in Edwards, it was in Whitefield, it was in Wesley and Finney, and it is in many an evangelist of to-day, thank God; but we must remember that the planting of the seed and the protection of the green shoots are quite as important as allowing the sunlight and rain to fall upon the fields. In this city I happen to know that certain revered pastors — who sit on this platform at this moment and whom I must not name — have followed up carefully the converts who came forward in their fields of labor in Mr. Moody's revival. If you go to these pastors and ask what has been the result of Mr. Moody's effort here, they will say it has been glorious. In two or three instances reformed drunkards have become large benefactors of the churches, both spiritually and financially. The men who have followed up these converts give you a good report of Mr. Moody's work; but the men who folded their hands, the men who said, "Let the harvest take care of itself," the men who were immersed in luxurious lives and had torpid congregations, and who did not care to soil the skirts of their churches with any acquisitions from unpopular portions of our masses, — these persons, if you approach them, have usually only a cold answer to give to any question as to the effect of Mr. Moody's work here. I care nothing for the answers of such men. I repudiate such men as authorities on this theme. Greatly as we in America revere Mr. Moody's work, I found in Edinburgh deeper reverence for it than I find, on the whole, in Boston. I found in Lon-

don, on the whole, higher esteem for it than I have been able to find, usually, in New York. On both sides of the Atlantic, wherever I have been in fields he has visited, I have had abundant proof that his work, when followed up by the local pastors, has eventuated successfully. Look at Oxford! Were not the young men reached there? Why were they reached? Chiefly because God's truth was boldly preached and made fruitful by his Spirit; but partly, also, because Mr. Moody's hands were held up by men of position in the Established Church. Were his hands held up here? Did Harvard professors stand by him here, as Oxford professors stood by him in the British Islands, as Edinburgh professors stood by him in Scotland? I happen to know a dozen men of great learning and culture who thought it an honor to go into the inquiry meetings and converse with the religiously irresolute in Edinburgh and in London. [Applause.]

Dr. Crafts, of Brooklyn, lately sent out an hundred letters to preachers and Sabbath-school superintendents, with the question: "How many of you came into the church during periods of religious awakening, commonly called revivals?" The answer was, four sevenths. As I part from this theme allow me to ask this audience the same question. I will explain exactly what I mean to do, so that none of you can suppose I am trying to catch any of you unawares. I am about to ask all Christians in this assembly to rise — all Christians, Protestant or Romish, evangelical or unevangelical. This is putting the case very broadly and at a disadvantage to the propositions I

am defending. Then I am to ask all those Christians to sit down who did not come into the church in some period of religious awakening, by which I mean a period in which a considerable number came into the church under special effort. I do not mean a month's special effort, or that the effort was in the Methodist form, or the Congregationalist, or the Presbyterian, or the Episcopalian. I mean simply a religious awakening, occurring under some particular measures intended to make religion a personal matter. How many of the Christians in this assembly came into the church under such effort? I believe we shall find that more than half did so.

8. In every religious service the church for the times will make religion a personal matter, and will preach so as to secure immediate decision of the soul to accept God in Christ as both Saviour and Lord.

We have had preaching to the intellect, we have had preaching to the emotions, we have had preaching to the fancy; the time is coming when no preaching will be considered thoroughly evangelical unless it is addressed to the will. [Applause.] In every religious service religion ought to be made in some way a personal matter. I would have every prayer include in it petitions implying the total self-surrender of the will to God. It is a serious conviction of mine that we might improve the ordinary form of closing public religious services. Perhaps it is not too much to say that no man has a right to pronounce the benediction. We have a right to invoke it; but we can invoke it effectively only by total self-surrender to God. I wish every religious service were

closed by a form including the petition "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done in every one of us this instant as in heaven;" and then a moment of silent self-consecration, implying that every individual is reined up to the duty of immediate, total, affectionate, self-surrender to God as both Saviour and Lord, after which I would have the benediction invoked upon all such as have thus surrendered. In Calcutta, Keshub Chunder Sen, leader of the theistic movement in India, has arranged a ritual for his people, who are not Christians, but simply believers in a personal God and providence and prayer. At one point of that service, all the people present rise and utter the words "Give us light." They then remain in silent prayer for some seconds. A little later the congregation, with the minister, call out: "Victory to God! Victory to God!" Then there is another silent prayer. At the end of that inexpressibly solemn act of devotion the pastor says: "Peace! Peace!" This has the spirit of Christianity; I wish that in our Christian rituals there were something like it. Unless we have this address to the will, we leave out the most effective portion of every religious service. Only those who say "Victory to God!" deserve to have or can have the benediction effectively pronounced over them. I am not a friend of innovations; but I wish exceedingly that in the ordinary closing of religious exercises there were always something to rein up every hearer to total self-surrender to God.

Now, my friends, you will favor me with this expression which I have explained in advance, and on which I have allowed you time to think. Will all

Christians in this assembly please rise? [Apparently 2,500 of an audience of over 3,000 rose.] This assembly represents all evangelical bodies. It is a most cheerful fact that certainly more than 2,000 people rise here as Christians. Will such of you as did *not* come into the Church in some period of special religious awakening, commonly called a revival, such of you as did *not* come in through a gateway of special religious effort, sit down, and will the rest remain standing? [The request was heeded.] At least four sevenths of the 2,000 or more Christians of this assembly have remained standing; two thirds, some of the gentlemen behind me say; some, three fourths. I thank you most cordially for this expression. Any form of special religious effort that has brought half or four sevenths of our Christians into the church is sufficiently justified in experience by the Divine approval.

LECTURE II.

ADVANCED THOUGHT IN INDIA.

THROUGH the gate of the Red Sea, Sinai on the left, the Pyramids on the right, you enter the Indian Ocean, the North Star hanging low behind your ship and the Southern Cross rising from the heated horizon in front.

At Aden you see a British Gibraltar — an island that is little more than a cinder, but carved into military might ; heavy batteries frowning from the lower, middle, and upper slopes ; great reservoirs for water in the parched red rock ; 30,000 people, large military detachments, huge men-of-war, a position that dominates Arabia and Northeastern Africa, and, of course, insures a proper respect for British interests in the whole length of the Red Sea and the Suez Canal.

Nowhere on the highways of travel around the earth do you find a hotter region than between the sands of Arabia and those of Sahara. On your tour of the world, you afterward cross the Equator, once in the region of the East Indies and again south of the Sandwich Islands ; but you suffer little from heat in the former case, and, in the latter, under the cool trade-winds from the Andes, you wear your ulster in the evening as you pass the Line. In the Red Sea, however, it is possible that you may need

a double Scotch cap, with the interstices filled with pounded ice, to prevent sun-stroke. In spite of the broad punkahs which servants of the ship now swing above the tables in the cabin, in spite of your constant use of the wide fans of the Orient, in spite of your dressing as nearly as possible in gauze, in spite of your punctual attention to cold baths, in spite of your total abstinence from intoxicating drinks and wine and beer, you need to guard against sun-stroke by a thick sun-hat. At Suez the fashion of careful travelers to the Orient is to put on solar helmets. You begin there to carry everywhere in the sunshine an umbrella, covered on the outside with white. There is an uncompromising fierceness in the sunbeams, utterly unknown to one who has not been in the Tropics; something searching and deadly characterizes the impact of the javelins of light and heat even at sunrise, but especially when the king of the broiling day is directly overhead or in the mid-afternoon sky. "Stand out of the sunshine! Keep out of the glare of the sun!" You hear constantly these novel directions given in anxious tones to inexperienced children. Without being forced, as many are, to use protecting spectacles, you fall into the habit of holding your eyelids half closed, a tendency which may become such a habit as to endure after your return to temperate latitudes. You are sometimes in a ship that moves with a slow, hot wind, and so you have no relief afforded by the breezes of the ocean. Occasionally a ship has been known to pause in the Red Sea, reverse its course, lose time, and move against the wind for a few hours, in order to relieve its passengers

from the effects of the intolerable heat. There is, however, in the Red Sea, as there is not in the best season at Bombay and Calcutta, a great difference between the temperature at night and by day. The sands radiate heat rapidly. There is an Arabian proverb which says that "The servant in the coolness of the morning forgot to provide water for the heat of the day." You make the most of the slight relief the nights give; you sleep on deck, and take every precaution; but, even in December, when the sun is south of the Equator, you come out of this terrific funnel between the two hottest deserts of the world, exceedingly glad to find yourself in average health. If you enter the open Indian Ocean without anything like dizziness or the approaches of sun-stroke, you may regard yourself as probably proof against the heats of India in its cooler season and of the Equator on the sea in any part of the world. Whoever has gone through the Red Sea in August unscathed is likely to be able to look the sun in the eye anywhere on the planet.

How shall I approach the land of pearls and palms, of religions more ancient than Christianity, and of philosophies which were old when Greece was young? You are afloat on the Indian Ocean, and Hindustan has not yet come into sight. The dim tawny headlands of Arabia pass out of view. The noons, under the soft monsoon, are temperate in heat; the sea is gentle in its mood day after day. In the tropic azure, Orion blazes almost overhead every evening before you leave the decks. You gaze long at the marvelous flashing of Sirius and Canopus, Aldeb-

aran and Procyon. Jupiter, at nine o'clock, is a great flame directly above the masts; red Mars burns lower down in the Eastern sky. The Pleiades are north of you when they pass the zenith. An hour before dawn, on the morning after you leave Aden, you behold for the first time the holy splendor of the Southern Cross. Ursa Major, at about the same hour, illuminates the sinking northern sky. On the Mediterranean shore of Egypt the apparent height of the North Star is three of your hand's breadths, the arm stretched fully out. At Aden, as you enter the Arabian Sea, its height is hardly more than one hand's breadth.

It is a trait of the sensitive traveler that he is more or less distinctly conscious of all that is happening under the meridian he is crossing. Your soul touches on your left thirsty Persia, the plains of Tartary, the forests of the Ural Mountains, the polar ice. On your right the waves and winds have unobstructed course all the way from the frozen seas beneath the Southern Cross. You dream of Madagascar, Mauritius, Paul and Virginia, Cape Mountain, the sources of the Congo and the Nile. You behold Livingstone dying while on his knees in prayer for the regeneration of Africa. You see Stanley crossing the Dark Continent, and now founding colonies and suppressing the slave-trade on the banks of the Congo.

In spite, however, of all else that in sky and sea and beyond the sea rivets your attention, your thoughts are gradually absorbed by India. You hear in imagination more distinctly with every sunrise

the rustle of its palms and bamboos and mango-trees, the flow of its rivers, the mysterious voices of its past, the multitudinous stir of its present millions, the advancing footsteps of its future.

You have in your hand a globe, the companion of many a studious hour, and you notice that India, from north to south, — that is, from the top of Cashmere to Cape Comorin, — is as long as a line from Boston to Pike's Peak. A line of similar length on the map of Europe extends from Gibraltar to Constantinople. The breadth of India, from the westernmost mouth of the Indus to the easternmost mouth of the Ganges, is slightly more than the distance from Boston to Omaha, or from Paris to St. Petersburg. The distance from Bombay to Calcutta is only that from Boston to St. Louis.

Gibbon estimated that imperial Rome, at the height of her power, governed only 120,000,000 of men. The British Empire governs in India alone 250,000,000. India is only as large as all Europe, less Russia; but it has a population as large as that of Europe. In a territory only about as large, to speak roundly, as that of the United States east of the Mississippi and Missouri, India has five times our present population. You think that here would be superb opportunity for usefulness, if only the English language were understood by the masses of the people. You ask whether it will be possible to gather large assemblies to listen to discussions on religious and philosophical themes and exclusively in the English tongue. You are in great doubt as to what may happen, but you are resolved to be a student, at

least; and yet you leave open half your time for the work of lecturing. In regard to this latter matter, you make no predictions; you promise yourself absolutely nothing. You have been told in Edinburgh and elsewhere that there is no opportunity on earth for usefulness, through English lectures, like that in India at the present moment; but you have not credited this statement. You have regarded it as, perhaps, only an indication of sentimental attachment to India, or of a desire to encourage you in a difficult enterprise.

It is a glorious morning in the Orient. Far over the purple and azure waves toward the sunrise you see for the first time the Western Ghauts, that jagged ridge which shuts out the ocean from India on the west. A little later the distant towers and domes of a city begin to come into view at the foot of low hills, clad with palms and mango-trees and a great variety of strange tropical vegetation. In another half hour, after turning a picturesque point of land, you are afloat in a magnificent harbor, large enough to hold all the British fleets and alive with shipping of all nations. You land at a massive granite pier, at the edge of a great esplanade, in the second city of the British Empire — queenly Bombay.

You have landed with speed; otherwise you would have been met by a steam launch, containing a lecture committee. That launch is on the water and chases you in, and before you reach your hotel the committee overtakes you. To make a long story short, that evening and the next day about a dozen prominent merchants, preachers, and civilians, arrange for a

course of six or eight lectures, to be given in one of the largest halls, and the city is at once placarded from end to end — with what subjects? Philosophical themes, religious topics, nothing very sensational in the titles, no music promised, a prominent presiding officer mentioned in connection with each lecture — an important matter in any British community!

The great esplanade of Bombay is surrounded by magnificent government buildings, with deep verandas, under screens. Everything in the architecture suggests the necessity of protection against heat. The city is young. It was not built and rebuilt; at least, the British part was not. This municipality is not as old as Boston. You admire the broad streets, laid out by British engineers. Of course, in the native quarters you have hovels and real squalor, but still it is not the squalor of our populations of the temperate zones, for these children have no filthy clothes upon them; they have no clothes at all, except on their heads. Literally, the only wardrobe of seven children out of ten on the streets consists of anklets and earrings.

Bronze, fine bronze, admirable for its quality — that is the complexion of these Hindus of the lower class. It is not a coarse, oleaginous bronze. You learned to admire this bronze when you were at Aden and saw the Somali boys by scores swimming around your ship. They dive for a shilling or a penny. You throw a piece of silver from the upper deck, and before it has sunk out of reach the Somali boy catches it in the green depths of the sea, in spite of the danger from sharks. You ask him to dive under your

ship, or, as the sailors say, to write his name upon the keel of the steamer, and in a few seconds after disappearing at one side he comes up on the other side of the vessel. These boys swarm on deck. You cannot avoid putting your hand on their curly heads, and sometimes on their shoulders. It is a very fine bronze, this. You find the same in Hindustan, only a little finer.

The first thing that impressed me in India was the good quality of the temperament of the Hindu. He is supple, subtle, fine, keen-edged. He is not strong. He is enervated, no doubt, by his child-marriages, by the climate, by his diet of rice, by frequent famines, and by poor conditions among the lower classes generally. You find many Brahmins, however, who have this same excellent quality of organization, together with normal size of body and brain. They have physical vigor — not equal to that of the Briton, or German, or American ; but they are forceful, as well as keen-edged. The Sikhs and the Rajpoots are tall, well-developed, strong men. The Gourkas, from the slopes of the Himalayas, are short, but thick-set and famed for military valor. The Marathi Brahmins, the very best of the Brahmin class, in the central portion of India, have in many cases the real vigor of mountaineers.

It is not true that all the natives of India are sheep ; nevertheless, your first impression is that they are. The Hindu is ovine, the Briton is bovine, and it is not a wonder that the latter rules the former. The Bengalee is especially timid and inclined to avoid all physical contests. He makes a poor

soldier. He usually yielded almost without opposition to those who oppressed him in the days before the East India Company entered upon its career in Hindustan. To this hour he has the reputation of being, physically, a poltroon ; but in other respects he has a high character. He makes the best accountant among the races of India. He is a good teacher ; he is naturally a writer and speaker. You may say of the Bengalee that he is born with an essay under his arm and a speech on his lips. There are all classes of Hindus, of course ; but the general feeling you have, at first, is that these people would not be great, even if they were Christians. After weeks and months, however, that impression changes. If your experience is like mine, you come to feel that if child-marriages were abolished, if polygamy were driven out of all parts of India, if the diet were somewhat changed, if the conditions of life were improved, you might develop, on the Ganges especially, and even further south, a stalwart race, quite worthy of their origin on the slopes of the Himalayas, north of the great wall, which shuts out India from the rest of Asia.

The day comes for the opening of your course of lectures in Bombay, and you expect a great humiliation. You drive down at night along a back street, in order to be ready to hide your diminished head ; but you find that the large hall which has been engaged is already overflowed and that hundreds are being turned away. I am anxious to do justice to India, and by showing what you experience there I shall show what India is. You say this gathering

must have been drawn together by the name of the chairman. It is, of course, not a ticketed assembly. Here are, you think, before you go into the house, the English people of Bombay, who, perhaps, may have thought it something of a novelty to listen to a lecturer from America, and it may be have come out to sneer. You have probably more enemies in this dense gathering than friends. You go before that assembly, as you go before every one, if your experience is like mine, resolved to remember your enemies, and never to overrate the friendship of any audience before which you may stand. But you enter the house and look about almost in vain, outside the platform, for an English or American face. Red and white turbans are packed to the roof. You turn to your chairman and say: "Where are the police? There will be disorder here if I deliver to this audience the lecture I had in mind. I may not please all these Hindus." "Speak here as you would in London. Speak here as you would in Edinburgh," he replies. "There is no need of policemen here. There are four in the hall; but they will not be required. This audience will be as orderly as any you ever met in the British Empire." But you say: "They cannot understand English, all of them; and I cannot promise, knowing nothing of this assembly, to keep the house quiet. I am a perfect novice here and might easily make very grave mistakes." The chairman says: "Go forward as you would in London or Edinburgh. I will be responsible for the rest."

You soon find that a Bombay Hindu audience understands English apparently as well as this Boston

assembly does. In the sea of Oriental faces, keen, incisive countenances flash out. The bronze glows like colored porcelain with a light behind it. Bright eyes meet yours, and gleam responsively under the red turban, and not less under the Parsee hat. The Parsees, by the way, are simply a fragment of the old Persian race, somewhat acclimated in India. They are the foremost mercantile class, and are well represented here. Nearly all of them speak English perfectly. After addressing this assembly for a few minutes, you come to feel that there is no danger of disorder or of your being misunderstood. The next night a considerable number of seats are sold, in order that those people who cannot come until late may have an opportunity of getting places. In this way your lecture committee has a slight income; but you have made up your mind not to charge anything for your work on missionary soil. There is an income from the necessary sale of seats to provide people with an opportunity of being present under pleasant circumstances; but, without this, there would have been nothing to provide for the expenses, except what generous Christian merchants and civilians gave for the support of the course of lectures. After three nights in this commodious hall, you are turned out of it, on account of the numbers who are not able to get in. You go into the Town Hall, the very largest assembly room in the city, holding about as many as Tremont Temple, and your friends find it necessary to go there early, if they are to obtain seats. Large numbers of the audiences have only standing room. Each lecture is nearly two hours long. A series of

six lectures closes with a call for an additional course.

At last, terribly overworked, you fly out of Bombay, supposing that this is the only city in India, unless it be Calcutta or Madras, that will give you audiences that understand English thoroughly well. You have a similar experience in Calcutta, a similar one in Madras. You are convinced that in the great Presidential cities English is well enough understood to enable you to address audiences in that tongue. Between Bombay and Calcutta, however, you give lectures to fine audiences in Poona, Ahmednagar, Lucknow, and Allahabad. Even in fanatical Benares, on the bank of the Ganges, and afterward in Southern India, in Bangalore and Madura, you have crowded assemblies, made up almost exclusively of natives, who listen to the severest things you are inclined to say concerning the hereditary misbelief and the imported unbelief of Hindustan. During three lectures in the immense Town Hall at Calcutta many hearers are obliged to stand, and the most distant people in your audience are two hundred feet away from your platform, and they are natives. You have Keshub Chunder Sen to move a vote of thanks at your last lecture. You come, little by little, into the feeling that the English tongue is the mightiest weapon of public usefulness in Hindustan to-day.

Nowhere, except, perhaps, in the case of the Spanish in South America, has a language spread more rapidly through great populations not born with it on their lips, than English has in India. The Spanish grandees would not condescend to learn the lan-

guage of their servants. Thus the servants were compelled to learn the language of the masters, and so even savage tribes in South America now sometimes speak Spanish. Surrounded constantly by far too obsequious and cringing Asiatics, the average British official in India does not suffer from a deficient sense of his own personal dignity. He is not eager to learn the dialects of his multitude of servants. They must, therefore, learn English. The classical tongues of India, which are the admiration of all scholars, and almost objects of worship to Brahmins, are, of course, not the vernacular. Hindustanee has wide prevalence, but no one inferior tongue is of universal currency. India has sixty distinctly different languages and more than one hundred dialects. University instruction, as conducted under British authority, always requires a knowledge of English. There is universal demand for instruction in English among the educated classes. A knowledge of it is an avenue to employment in the great mercantile houses and in the schools and in the civil service. Two of the greatest names among those of men to whom India is indebted for the early introduction of English into her schools and governmental papers are Alexander Duff and Lord Macaulay.

One year ago to-day, my friends, fleeing out of the steaming vat of Calcutta, it was my fortune to begin a short period of rest in the Himalaya Mountains. I summarize my memories of India, usually, by going back to Darjeeling and looking abroad over all Hindustan, as if the whole of it were in sight.

The Himalayas, as a mountain range, dazzle both

Alps and Andes, not out of sight, but into a position of positive inferiority. On a hill in a park at Darjeeling, among tea plantations, you have in view twelve mighty peaks, every one of which is over 20,000 feet high. You count twenty stupendous, far-flashing summits, every one overtopping the giant of the Alps. Mont Blanc is less than 16,000 feet high, but Kinchinjunga, on which you look through the unobscured azure of two days, is 28,000 feet in elevation. Mount Everest, supposed to be the highest peak on earth, is 29,000 feet high, — five miles of the earth's crust thrown into the azure. You remember Mont Blanc as seen from Geneva and Chamounix, and you have intense reverence for Switzerland, its waterfalls, its lakes, its avalanches, its holy solitudes, its stealthy glaciers, its everlasting snows, its roseate peaks. When you are in presence of the Himalayas, Switzerland seems to you like a toy. Here are mountains surpassed nowhere on earth, and nowhere in the human range of vision, except in the moon. The lunar mountains, which are higher than any on the earth, are rolled over our heads nightly and are strangely unappreciated. Except the Yosemite Valley, there is no mountain scenery that I compare in my secret thoughts with the Himalayas. Of course, the summits around the Yosemite are not as grand in height, but there is a certain impressiveness in El Capitan, and a combination of beauty and sublimity in the valley, which make me rank the Yosemite second to the Himalayas, while I place all that Switzerland can show as third in dignity among the mighty scenes in mountains on our globe.

Look abroad from the Himalayas, and what do you see? Three things. First, this unsurpassed range of mountains; next, the northern Indian plain — historic, electric with mighty associations, the cradle of great political changes, the birthplace of great religions, a brown and green expanse, fringed with palms and bamboos, through which flow the Indus and the Ganges; then, thirdly, the southern portion of the peninsula, high mountains on the west side, low ones on the east, and a triangular stretch of high tableland between them, called the Deccan.

As your memories take you back to it, what is India? It is Bombay, with its magnificent harbor, its Elephanta caves, its stately English government offices, its aristocratic bungalows on Malabar Hill, its Parsee Towers of Silence, on which the vultures strip the flesh from the bones of the dead; its Parsees worshipping on the wharves and shores at the setting of the sun, with their faces turned toward the west; its Hindus burning corpses; its multitudinous mixture of sects and nationalities, like that of Alexandria of old. It is Allahabad, with its junction of the Jumna and the Ganges crowded with the festivals of religious pilgrims. It is Delhi, with its ruins of Saracenic grandeur, its stately Kutub Minar, — a campanile more imposing than Giotto's famous tower, — its magnificent mosques and marble palaces, and its conflict of creeds, philosophies, and politics. It is Lucknow, with its pathetic memories of the siege of 1857. It is Cawnpore, with its monuments to British martyrs. It is Agra, with the tomb of Akbar and the peerless Taj Mahal, a structure of which Bishop

Heber said, most justly, that "it was designed by Titans and finished by jewelers." It is Benares, with its stately residences for the few and its squalid streets for the many; its gaudy temples, with frivolous or filthy rites; its crowds of pilgrims, bathing in the Ganges; its burning ghats, where the dead are reduced to ashes. It is Calcutta, with its palaces and schools and fleets and toiling thousands. It is Madras, with its surf-boats, its vigorous missions, its firm grasp on both the land and sea. It is the sacred Ganges, a wide, tawny, shallow flood, rolling through a brown and dusty tropical plain. It is a toiling population of pinched and oppressed lower classes. It is a decaying native nobility, their magnificence slowly paling under British rule. It is Occidental civilization making fatal inroads upon Oriental fashions. It is caste going out of date. It is Christianity subduing a subtle but effete paganism. It is the Himalayas, with their inspired heights and solitudes under sun and moon, contemplating all and prophesying better ages to come. India signifies the commingling of Occident and Orient; India is already the rudder of reform for all Asia. You become passionately attached to this land for its own sake, and because you feel that whoever is useful in India is reaching Asia at large.

As you look abroad over India from the Himalayas, the organizing dates of her history seem to be written in the sky and to be whispered to you by her palms and mangos, her tamarinds and banyans, her bread-fruit trees and bamboos.

1400 B. C. — Arrangement of the Vedas by Vyasa.

1200. — Events of the mighty epic poem called the Mahabharata.

1000. — Events of the epic of Ramayana, by Vahlmiki.

800. — Institutes of Menu.

500-543. — Gotama Buddha.

327. — Invasion by Alexander.

270-240. — Reign of Asoka.

200 B. C.-1000 A. D. — Obscure mediæval rajahs.

1219 A. D. — Invasion by Genghis Khan.

1600. — Organization of the East India Company.

1605. — Death of Akbar, two years after that of Queen Elizabeth of England.

1640. — Founding of Madras.

1648. — Date of the completion of the Taj Mahal.

1666. — Death of Shah Jehan.

1668. — Bombay begun.

1689. — Calcutta founded.

1707. — Death of Aurungzebe.

1757. — Battle of Plassey.

1857. — Sepoy mutiny.

1858. — The Queen becomes the direct ruler of India.

1877. — Proclamation of her Britannic Majesty as Empress of all India.

Hindus in India, Greeks in India, Mohammedans in India, British in India, — these are the chief divisions in the long story of the Valley of the Ganges, — four invasions, three by land and one by sea.

Xavier (1506 - 1552) arrived in India as a missionary in 1540; Schwarz (1726 - 1788) in 1750; Carey (1761 - 1834) in 1794; Judson (1788 - 1850)

in 1813; Heber (1783–1826) in 1824; Wilson (1804–1875) in 1829; Duff (1806–1878) in 1830. Lord Macaulay was in Calcutta in 1834. The universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras were founded in 1857.

If this audience will bear with me, I will read a few of the scores of questions which I was constantly putting in India, and indicate very briefly the answers which were given to me there : —

1. What are the chief religious difficulties of the best educated Hindus, and what are those of the most ignorant?

The chief religious difficulties of the best educated Hindus are attachment to caste; Brahminical pride of intellect, and love of subtle disputes, without practical results; the obliteration of the sense of sin by mere ceremonialism in religion; English education in universities preserving a neutral attitude toward all faiths; contagion of agnostic, positivist, and pantheistic speculation from the West; a mistaken conviction that Christianity is losing its influence in the educated circles of the Occident.

The most ignorant Hindus are under the control of superstition connected with the hereditary misbelief; they are the dupes and almost the slaves of the priestly class; and here is the power of paganism, here is the horror of a false faith. What is this man doing? He lies down in the dust and measures his length, rises to his feet, and then measures his length again. He is passing over hundreds of miles in this way. Why is he going through these austerities? In order to shorten the eight million four hun-

dred thousand re-births, and cut off some portion of the long line of transmigrations through which, as he thinks, all souls not specially favored must go. The theory of the average Hindu is that he must be re-born, and that, if he has preëminent merit in this life, he will be born on a higher scale. Every man must go through millions of transmigrations, and eminent merit here will lessen the number of these, and so bring heaven nearer. Austerities of the most horrible kind you see practiced at Benares, and you ask why men endure them, and the answer is: "To shorten the eighty-four." The two wheels on which the chariot of Hinduism in the ignorant populations moves are positive belief in transmigration and in caste. Whoever can break these wheels may smite Hinduism into fragments.

2. What are the most frequent types in the religious experience of Hindu converts? that is, by what aspects of Christian truth are the most conversions made?

By those aspects which justify its claim to be a Divine Revelation; those which awaken a sense of the necessity of the deliverance of the soul from the love and the guilt of sin; and those which show that Christianity, and it only, can effect this deliverance.

3. What are the most mischievous forms of imported unbelief in India?

Positivism, pantheism, agnosticism, as represented in the various schools of rationalism in Europe. The passing fashions of sceptical circles in the West are often influential at the Antipodes after they are thoroughly outgrown and discredited in the places of their origin.

4. Is it advisable, as a general rule, in India, that the members of churches organized by missionary labor should be taught and expected to pay one tenth of their income for the support of their churches?

Missionaries of the American Board generally answer this question in the affirmative; but others say, Not yet.

5. What definite plan ought the churches to support for the abolition of the abuses of the opium trade?

All Christian India should petition Parliament for the entire abolition of the trade, and for such new treaties with China as shall be worthy of Christian statesmanship.

6. What attitude ought the Christian churches to take in India as to the evils of caste?

It should never be recognized in the church and constantly opposed outside the church.

7. What ought to be the position of the Christian churches in India as to the mischief of child-marriages?

They should petition government to abolish them by law, as it did suttee, or the burning of widows, infanticide, and the exposure of the aged on the banks of the Ganges, and suicide under the wheels of the car of Juggernaut.

8. What is the attitude of English officials and of foreign society in general in India toward the religious reformation of the empire?

Some of the most efficient friends of missionary effort have been found among the great civilians of India; as, for, example, Lord Lawrence and Sir

William Bentinck. The Christian fame of a General Havelock has become one of the treasures of the whole world. It is to be confessed, however, that large parts of fashionable society in governmental circles in India are of too coarse a spiritual fibre to relish aggressive Christian work, or to appreciate the missionary movement which is preparing for India and all Asia a new civilization. It used to be the proverb that Indian officials sent from England leave their Christianity at the Cape of Good Hope on the voyage out, and take it up again there on the voyage home. Nothing as cynical as this would now be true.

9. What reforms do the educated classes of India wish to effect in its political condition?

They ask for commissions of inquiry into the working of the British government; they demand freedom of the press; they aspire to the use of representative institutions for all India. As definite steps toward the last of these changes, they propose the extension of the elective principle to all first class municipalities of British India; the concession to the municipal boards of the three Presidency towns and a few other great Indian cities of the right to elect members of the legislative councils; the extension of the scope of these councils so as to include questions of finance. (See Dr. W. W. Hunter's *Lectures on "England's Work in India,"* p. 135.)

10. What do progressive and cultivated Hindus think is likely to be the future of British power in India?

Peaceful supremacy for perhaps an hundred years

to come if these reforms are slowly granted and due wisdom is exercised ; otherwise, extinction.

11. Of what use will an exhaustive study of Oriental false religions, and especially of the sacred books of the Brahmins and the Buddhists, be in the illustration and defense of Christianity ?

As Max Müller has said, in his introduction to his edition of the "Sacred Books of the East," he who seriously puts forward any of these as a rival of the Christian Scriptures lacks scholarship. Nevertheless, the best ethical maxims and the noblest imaginative passages of Oriental pagan sacred books have a value of substance, though not of form, perhaps nearly equal to that of the best ethical and poetical parts of Greek literature. Nothing in history or philosophy, however, in Asiatic pagan books, equals what has been transmitted to us on these topics by the Greeks. The foremost theists of India have given up wholly the doctrine of the inspiration of the Vedas. Keshub Chunder Sen professes solemnly that it is only in the Bible that he and his followers find the satisfaction of their deepest spiritual wants. They know well what the light of Asia is, and affirm that it is twilight. In a thorough study of comparative religion, Christianity has nothing to fear and much to gain.

12. What has been the rate of progress of Christianity in India, and what is its present numerical strength in all India and Ceylon ?

In the last ten years not only has the ratio of increase of former decades been kept up, but a great advance has been made upon it, especially in India, where the *growth has risen to 100 per cent.* It was

my fortune to exhibit often to Hindu audiences tables of statistics like these in support of the proposition that Christianity has come to India to stay :

NATIVE CHRISTIANS

	1851.	1861.	1871.	1881.
India	91,092	138,731	224,258	417,372
Burmah	No returns.	59,366	62,729	75,510
Ceylon	11,859	15,273	31,376	35,708
Total	102,951	213,370	318,363	528,590

COMMUNICANTS.

	1851.	1861.	1871.	1881.
India	14,661	24,976	52,816	113,325
Burmah	No returns.	18,439	20,514	24,929
Ceylon	2,645	3,859	5,164	6,843
Total	17,306	47,274	78,494	145,097

In the first of these decades the ratio of increase was fifty-three per cent.; in the second, sixty-one per cent.; in the last, eighty-six per cent. In Ceylon the percentage of increase in the past ten years is seventy, while in India it is one hundred. None of the European or American churches can exhibit such an increase. There is every reason to believe that this rate of increase will be exceeded in the next ten years. (See the New York "Independent" for February 1, 1883, p. 8.) It may be possible, as the "Indian Witness" suggests, that there are many persons now living who will see from ten to fifteen million Protestant Christians in India before they obtain release from toil in this earthly vineyard. The largest aggregate increase of native Christians was in Madras, where, in place of 160,955 Christians ten years ago, there are now 299,742. The distribution among

the provinces and the rate of increase is shown by the following table: —

Madras	299,742	86 per cent.
Bengal	83,583	67 “
Burmah	75,510	27 “
Ceylon	35,508	70 “
Bombay	11,691	180 “
N. W. Provinces	10,300	64 “
Central India	4,885	92 “
Punjab	4,672	155 “
Oudh	1,329	111 “

The Calcutta Missionary Conference, a most remarkable gathering, containing representatives from all the provinces between the Himalayas and the sea, publishes these statistics, and has but just risen from its knees on the banks of the Hooghly, where it has been offering devout thanks to Almighty God for the progress of Christianity in India at a speed never equaled anywhere on earth except in the time of the apostles. No part of the world can show such a rate of increase of the number of native Christians as India can during the last decade. A mighty avalanche is already poised for falling.

III.

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN AND HINDU THEISM.

WITH A PRELUDE ON

LIMITED MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-NINTH LECTURE IN THE
BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN
TREMONT TEMPLE, MARCH 5, 1883.

"There ought to be no pariahs in a full grown and civilized nation ; no persons disqualified except through their own default. Difference of sex is as entirely irrelevant to political rights as difference in height or in the color of the hair." — JOHN STUART MILL.

"Woman represents and largely is the conscience and the heart of Christendom. More than man she beat down slavery in this country. More than men she is to mould the future of the world." — R. S. STORRS.

"A pagan, kissing, for a step of Pan,
The wild-goat's hoof-print on the loamy down,
Exceeds our modern thinker who turns back
The strata — granite, limestone, coal, and clay,
Concluding coldly with, ' Here 's law ! Where 's God ? ' "

MRS. BROWNING.

"God sends his teachers unto every age,
To every clime, and every race of men,
With revelations fitted to their growth
And shape of mind, nor gives the realm of Truth
Into the selfish rule of one sole race :
Therefore each form of worship that hath swayed
The life of man, and given it to grasp
The master-key of knowledge, reverence,
Infolds some germs of goodness and of right."

LOWELL.

PRELUDE III.

LIMITED MUNICIPAL SUFFRAGE FOR WOMEN.

WHY should limited municipal suffrage be granted to women? By limited municipal suffrage is meant the right of voting limited to city elections and to such women as can read and write and pay a voluntary tax for the privilege of exercising the franchise, and are residents of the cities in which they vote, and in other respects have the qualifications required of male voters.

1. More than a fifth of the population of the United States now lives in cities. The misgovernment, illiteracy, intemperance, and immorality of the larger cities are among the hugest practical evils of our civilization. Whatever will tend to purify great cities effectively will be an incalculably important blessing to the world at large, for the tendency of population to mass itself in cities and the disproportionate growth of crime in cities are phenomena of all advanced modern nations. The success of governments of the people, for the people, and by the people is inseparably bound up with the success of good government in cities.

2. Self-support is more difficult for women than for men, and so women have selfish reasons which men have not for attachment to the house, and

hence, if they have the power, may be expected to defend the interests of home more carefully than men have done.

It is more difficult for a woman to maintain herself alone than for a man to do so, because the most gainful occupations are not open to her, and because she is physically unfitted for the severest physical and mental labor; and because natural laws, with a sternness unknown in the case of man, require of woman periodic rest; and because most women, even if they start an independent business, do not expect to maintain it, but to merge it, after marriage, with that of their husbands. In view of the greater difficulty of their self-support, women are more dependent than men on good laws for their protection, and hence may be expected to be more solicitous than men to purify legislation so far as it touches the home, which is the very centre and *palladium* of free society and especially of the society of cities.

3. Women, as a class, illiterates excepted, are more free from intemperance and immorality than men, and hence may be expected to cast a purer vote for the reform of cities.

The caution of this proposition is, I hope, not a discourtesy to the sex whose interest I am endeavoring to defend. Omitting illiterates, chiefly found — among women — in our recently immigrated population, the very froth of society is almost the only place in which intemperance can be found in this country among females. I am not speaking of England, nor of the Continent; but of the United States. In the middle class, if I may use such a phrase here, and in

the upper part of what we call the poorer class and in the lower part of the wealthier class, women in the United States are, as a rule, not only temperate, but abstinent. It is a most amazing thing to find intemperance among women in any of these circles. What we really ought to call the summit of American society is to be found in the best educated and the most efficiently religious, and not in the wealthier classes.

A few years since, thank God, one of the queens of American society, at the White House, at Washington, turned the wine-glass upside down. [Applause.] That precedent has been set and will always remain a fact in American history, and it indicates what the real summit of society in America thinks of intemperance.

4. Women, as more dependent on home than men, suffer more from the vices of great cities, and hence may be expected to do more for the reform of cities than men have done.

5. By endowment of Heaven, women are more attached to children in their tenderest years than men are, and care more in most cases for the interests of fathers, sons, brothers, and husbands than these male classes do for themselves in matters of morals [applause], and so may be expected to purify the vote of cities in the interest of its households.

6. Municipal suffrage for tax-paying women has worked well for many years in England.

Jacob Bright says he believes England will lead America in the matter of giving municipal suffrage to tax-paying ladies; and, indeed, Great Britain does

lead the United States at this moment in the matter, and Scotland is likely soon to lead us unless reform with us progresses much more rapidly than it has done of late.

7. A general right of suffrage for women has worked well for fourteen years in Wyoming, and the success of the larger privilege of voting justifies a hope that a narrower measure would eventuate well.

You doubt the success of female suffrage in Wyoming Territory. I claim no authority on this matter; but it has been my fortune to visit Wyoming three times, and to meet civilians, preachers, and teachers there, and to study carefully the press of the territory, and my conviction is that it can be established, by overwhelming evidence, that woman suffrage in Wyoming, on the whole, is a success. [Applause.] As I am not a woman suffragist, I am not led by the necessities of a theory to interpret the experience of Wyoming in a particular way. I hold in my hand a tract, recently issued, a republication of a somewhat elaborate leading article in the Laramie "Sentinel" of Feb. 3, 1883, and in it I find that the three governors of Wyoming, Campbell, Thayer, and Hoyt, all the governors that the territory has had since woman suffrage became its law, in 1869, have uniformly indorsed and spoken in the highest terms of its practical workings in all their messages and official documents. No one can be found to oppose this law who wants to see good government in the territory. The women prize and exercise their political rights as highly and generally as the men. There is a less percentage of women who

stay away from the polls than of men. It is no uncommon thing for wives and husbands to differ in their political opinions ; but this, as a rule, produces no ill social effect. It is treated as a circumstance to be looked on with good-humor. " Our elections," this authority affirms, " were formerly an improved and revised edition of a Donnybrook Fair. Under the refining influence of woman's presence, they are now as civil, quiet, and orderly as are our churches or any other social gathering."

How do ladies vote in Wyoming? It is perfectly proper for a lady to walk to the polls, with a gentleman as attendant, or even alone. In most cases ladies get into their carriages, with their husbands or their sons, and drive to a sort of bay-window, and, without stepping out of their carriages, drop their votes into a box at that projection of the office where votes are counted. A most dignified procedure. Poor women may, of course, not go to the polls in carriages ; but, with their husbands and sons with them, and under guard of the police, such is American honor that no indignity need be feared for them, even in the great cities. You think that women cannot vote without mixing with the roughs at the polls. It is astounding how beclouded, benighted, belated, and barbaric some of the objections to woman suffrage are, and especially on this very point. [Applause and laughter.]

This article closes by saying : " We speak that which we know, and, as an evidence of good faith, we write and publish this here at home, where all the facts are known, and where, if we misstated or

misrepresented the matter, it would be at our own peril." For ten years such documents as these have been published in Wyoming. I have taken pains to gather everything I could find opposed to this evidence. Very kind friends have sent me official publications again and again from Wyoming; civilians, as well as preachers. The truth is that the preponderating opinion goes to show that Wyoming is satisfied that woman suffrage is, on the whole, beneficial to her; and she would not go back, if she could, to the old arrangements. [Applause.]

8. Women are less connected than men with partisan political intrigue, corrupt rings, and the temptations of business; and hence may be expected to give a vote more nearly according than man's with the merits of the case in each election.

9. Voting would increase the intelligence of women, and be a powerful incitement to female education.

10. It would enable women to protect their own industrial, social, moral, and educational rights.

Horace Greeley used to contend that seduction should be punished by death. In how many cities of this country is it punished with severity or to the extent of the law? Let women vote, even in the limited way that I am proposing; let them have a voice in the defense of their own rights [applause], and the time will come when man will be treated as sternly for immorality as woman is to-day [applause], and may God hasten that hour. [Loud applause.]

Velvet life wants no vote. Dulcet drones, dear, respectable people in effortless, luxurious circles, petition even a Massachusetts legislature against having

political responsibilities thrust upon them. [Laughter.] The authoress of a battle-hymn of the republic, she who has heard the cry of humanity for the alleviation of its terrible distresses, may well look upon these very respectable drags on the wheels of progress with scorn. [Applause.] An eagle does not occupy his time in catching flies. [Laughter and applause.]

11. Thousands of women of the best social position petition for the right of limited municipal suffrage, and only a few hundreds have petitioned against it.

12. Limited municipal suffrage for women would be an experiment by which the merits of woman's suffrage could be gradually ascertained by experience, without danger to the constitution of society, for state and national power would yet be exclusively in the hands of men, and if this experiment should not work well it could be discontinued.

13. Excluding all illiterate votes, elections that turn on large moral issues like license or no license, prohibition or its opposite, or on education in cities, would not be beyond the comprehension of the mass of female votes, as instructed and led by the best culture in their own class and by public discussion at large, and so would not greatly increase the danger from ignorant voters.

14. Woman's interests in the great moral issues at stake in city government are so immense that gradually all women of conscience possessing the right of suffrage would be expected to use it, and so a limited municipal suffrage would not greatly increase the evils of absenteeism at the polls.

15. For nearly half a century the cause of a limited female suffrage has been winning more and more golden opinions, not only among philanthropists and reformers, but among legislators. We have had, for instance, six grave governors, and one governor not very grave, in this Commonwealth, who have recommended enlarged woman suffrage. The industrial, educational, and social rights of women have been advanced immensely in the last generation, and experience has justified these changes. Who wants to go back to the position in which we were a generation since in regard to the industrial, educational, and general legal rights of women?

16. My supreme argument, however, is my last. The whiskey rings and other corrupt classes, who are chiefly responsible for the misgovernment of great cities, fear nothing so much as limited municipal suffrage for women, and this terror of the enemies of civilization points out the most effective weapon that can be used against them. [Applause.]

You think that I have forgotten three things: first, the dangers of an ignorant vote; secondly, the dangers of absenteeism at the polls; and thirdly, the dangers of voting under the dictation of priests and political rings. As these propositions show, I have forgotten none of these things. I begin by excluding the illiterate vote. I begin by excluding all women who are not willing to pay a tax for the right of suffrage. I begin by putting into the very definition of limited municipal suffrage such qualifications that the class who are most open to the misleading influences of priests and political rings are shut out.

I would not vote for municipal suffrage for women in New York city at this moment without the reading test. I would not vote for it in Chicago, or St. Louis, or San Francisco, or New Orleans. So far from being a fanatic on this subject am I that I regret exceedingly the absence of the reading test for men in New York, and would vote at a moment's notice for the restoration of it to the place it once held in my native commonwealth. I am in favor of compulsory voting. I want Civil Service Reform carried in its very best shape, and applied not only to national, but to state and municipal, affairs. I am by no means of opinion that limited municipal suffrage, such as I now defend, will bring the millennium, or that it will be without great disappointments in many ways; but my feeling is very strong that we are justified by experience and by good sense, amounting to much more than a theory, in trying such an experiment as the General Court of Massachusetts and many legislatures of other states are now asked to undertake, by petitions annually increasing in number and urgency. Even states as conservative as New Hampshire and Massachusetts have already given to woman in cities an educational vote. But a temperance vote is even more clearly her right in natural justice than an educational. The cause is rising to a high tide of urgency, under the impulse of a desire for protection from both intemperance and illiteracy.

This is a cause in which the whole world is interested. In speaking of it here, I have in mind Melbourne, Sydney, Calcutta, Bombay, Paris, and Lon-

don, and the multitude of municipalities which are drifting into the same dangers which threaten our great cities. The right management of great towns will be an absorbing question as suffrage broadens in the twentieth century. Let America remember that on this topic her responsibilities are world-wide. In view of the growth of representative institutions in our day, in view of the massing of men in cities, in view of the general elevation of woman's condition in Asia, in view of her enlarging industrial and educational and legal rights in Europe and America, who dares predict that a century hence there will not be something in our immensely misgoverned cities like limited municipal suffrage for women? I believe that this reform is coming, and that it will come to stay. God grant that our fashionable society may have the wisdom to ride in his chariot, and not be dragged behind its wheels! [Applause.]

LECTURE III.

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN AND HINDU THEISM.

INDIA has originated two of the most widely spread religions of the globe — Hinduism and Buddhism. Is it now likely to originate another, Eclectic Theism, including all those portions of Christian and non-Christian faiths which agree? This is the question naturally raised by the career of the eminent Hindu reformer, once leader of the theistic organization called the Brahmo Somaj, and now of its most progressive portion called the New Dispensation, the eloquent Babu Keshub Chunder Sen, of Calcutta.

In the line of religious endeavor Keshub Chunder Sen is a lineal successor of Ram Mohun Roy, whose studies of Christianity began at about the time when the great Scottish missionary Duff was commencing his marvelous career at the mouth of the Ganges.

Ram Mohun Roy was born of Brahmin parentage at Bordwan, Northern India, in 1774, and died at Bristol, while on a visit to England, in 1833. From early studies under Mohammedan teachers he imbibed a hatred of idolatry. He highly revered the Christian Scriptures, and at last came to regard them as ultimate authority concerning religious truth, but he never became a member of any Christian organization. It may be claimed with justice that in theory

he was a vacillating adherent of a shallow but conservative form of Unitarianism. His principle was to preach a reformed Hinduism to Hindus and a reformed Christianity to Christians. He founded in Calcutta a Vedantic institution, to revive the ancient monotheism of India. His reform had in it both a Christian and a Vedantic element, and these, as inherited by his successors, have struggled for supremacy over each other in the movement he began. The organization he formed grew into something which was called a theistic church, with a house of worship, congregation, membership, covenant, and public declaration of faith.

Extraordinary devotional exercises became a part of the discipline of the Brahmos, under the devout leadership of Debendra Nath Tagore, a reformer who followed Ram Mohun Roy as chief guide of the theistic movement. The infallibility of the Vedas was formally given up, and theism proclaimed by Ram Mohun Roy's successors, about the year 1850. The Brahmo Somaj (God Society) then addressed itself to the formation of a definite national creed. This included only what is known in the theological schools of the West as natural religion. Brahmo marriages and intermarriages, although prohibited by the Hindu rules of caste, began from the year 1861. This stage of progress led to a rupture between the older and younger party of Brahmos and the establishment of the Brahmo Somaj of India, in 1860.

The leader of the younger party of Brahmos was Keshub Chunder Sen. Under his incitement, radical social changes were advocated. An Indian Re-

form Association was established in 1870; an active missionary organization was constituted; preachers began to travel from one part of the country to the other; the doctrines of love for God and communion with God (Bhakti and Yoga) began to be explained with new intensity; sacraments and ceremonies were instituted; and, at last, the New Dispensation, as the highest development of the Brahmo Somaj, was proclaimed, in 1880, under the spiritual and intellectual leadership of Keshub Chunder Sen.

Ram Comul Sen, the grandfather of Keshub Chunder Sen, was a remarkable man. He was born in 1783 and died in 1844. The second son of a poor man who lived in a village just opposite to the town of Hooghly, he began life at nineteen years of age as a compositor, and up to his thirty-sixth year had attained no higher position than that of clerk in the Asiatic Society. The distinguished Orientalist, Dr. H. H. Wilson, recognized his talents and moral worth, and so influenced him that in a few years he became the native head of the Calcutta Mint and Bank of Bengal. He extended his education as he rose in social position, made himself a very fair Sanscrit scholar, spoke and wrote English remarkably well, and was the author of a copious and accurate Bengali and English Dictionary. There was no public and important movement of his time in which he was not an active worker. In a score of learned societies and local committees in Calcutta he was the guiding spirit. He was the chief leader of the Hindu community in that city, and an adviser of the government of Lord William Bentinck. He was the

founder of a large and very influential family in Calcutta. A strict vegetarian, he cooked his own meals at the end of the day's hard work. A rigid and most devout Vaishnavite, he was the author of a collection of prayers exhibiting profound religious instincts. ("Theistic Quarterly Review," January, 1881, p. 106.)

Keshub Chunder Sen was born November 18, 1838. He was educated at the Hindu College in Calcutta. In college, although at first fond of mathematics, he devoted himself almost exclusively to English literature and mental and moral philosophy. He passed four years in collegiate study, but is not a graduate of the final examinations of Calcutta University, which was established only two years before his quadrennial terminated. He became an active member of the Brahmo Somaj about 1859. His devout character and his eloquence at once made him a leader. He visited England in 1870, and was received with distinguished honor, especially by the Unitarians, and was introduced to the Queen. Two volumes of his addresses in England have been published at Calcutta, and have lately been followed by a third volume, containing English lectures of his in India. Besides editing a weekly religious newspaper and directing the instruction of theological students and various religious assistants, he preaches often to his people in a tabernacle in Calcutta, and once a year delivers, in the great Town Hall there, to an immense assembly, an elaborate oration in English on some point of faith or practice connected with the religious movement he represents and which he hopes to make national in its influence.

Keshub Chunder Sen is now forty-five years old, and is by far the most interesting religious figure lately produced by the millions of Hindustan. Many regard him as nearly or quite a Christian, and others as simply a fanatic and rhapsodical dreamer, anxious to immortalize himself. Others think he is a combination of these two characters. My own opinion concerning him was made up very slowly. I obtained, when I first went to Calcutta, everything he had published, and in a very few days was honored by interviews with some of his leading apostles, as they are called, and was invited to his house. I had long interviews with him, which I, of course, have no right to describe in public in detail. Suffice it to say that I must have been in Keshub Chunder Sen's company, at different times, fifteen or twenty crowded hours. On invitation, I made an expedition with him and his pupils up the river Hooghly, and he called on me at my place of residence in Calcutta; and I was prepared, with written questions in most cases, to examine his characteristic views, so that I feel, after a study of all he has published and after the very best opportunities to meet him in private, that I ought to understand what he aims at.

Let me say, once for all, that I regard it as indisputable that he is an honest man. He seems to me not only an honest, but a profoundly devout man, of extraordinary natural equipment in the intuitive religious faculties. His enemies say he is not a profound man, and some of them call him even a shallow man. Most of them affirm that he is a very politic man, and that he is ambitious to be at the head of a

new religious movement. I will not affirm that he is a Bacon, or a Leibnitz, or a Kant. He is a man of the Emerson type, powerful in the intuitive, rather than in the analytical, faculties. It was Mr. Burlingame, I believe, who said that in Asia there are at least ten thousand Emersons. The characteristic type of mind in India is the intuitive, and not the philosophical. Mr. Sen speaks through his lofty moral feelings. He sees religious truths through his conscience, rather than through mere reason. All his teaching must be understood from the point of view of his idiosyncrasies, or it will be misunderstood from the outset. He is not an Occidental; he is a thorough Oriental, and feels the touch of God within him, as the Oriental always has done at his best. He listens to the Inner Voice with the devoutness of one of the best of the Quaker mystics. He instinctively believes in Providence. He is perpetually inculcating the duty and the blessedness of prayer and of self-surrender to all the loftiest impulses of conscience, which, as he teaches, are really supernatural touches of God upon the spirit of man.

Keshub Chunder Sen holds a certain doctrine of inspiration which has often startled his British and American readers. He believes that, at certain moments, he is himself inspired; but after cross-examining him again and again on this theme, I am convinced that by his inspiration he means very little more than we mean by illumination of the Holy Spirit; or, certainly, not more than the Quaker mystics have meant by the Inner Light and the Interior Voice. According to the ritual lately sug-

gested by Keshub Chunder Sen for the examination of candidates for the holy order of missionaries in his theistic organization, the candidate is asked: "Is this order thine own choice or art thou called to it?" The candidate answers: "Called." "By whom?" asks the minister. "By the Holy Spirit." "How dost thou know it?" The reply is significant: "My best impulses and aspirations tend in this direction. My ideas, tastes, and capacities are all adapted to it. My whole life has naturally grown into it." In Mr. Sen's divinity school it is taught that what genius is in the intellectual world inspiration is in the religious. It is an occasional divine gift, and one that is sometimes vouchsafed even in our day. When I put to Mr. P. C. Mozumdar, one of the very ablest of Mr. Sen's coadjutors, the question: "How does Mr. Sen distinguish with certainty and precision the subjective from the objective in his religious experiences; that is, how does he make sure that any impression which he calls inspiration is not from his own faculties, but really from God himself?" the only answer was: "That is one of the secrets of religious genius."

Precisely here is the weakest and most dangerous, and yet to the average Hindu mind the most fascinating, part of Keshub Chunder Sen's claims and inculcations. Without pretending to offer any objective proof of the reality of his inspiration, he does teach unqualifiedly the very startling doctrine that some of the communications which come to him in his highest moments of devotion are infallible. He grants, however, that the reality of his inspiration must be

tested by the accord of his teachings with those of every inspired authority in religion. It is reassuring to find that he holds, in so many words, that the spirit of the prophets must be subject to the prophets. He regards the Christian Scriptures as incomparably the most important sacred books of the world. Familiar with all the sacred books of Asia, he and his followers find only in the Bible that which satisfies their deepest spiritual wants. All their study of comparative religions brings them back with unabated hunger and enthusiasm to the study of the Christian Scriptures.

Mr. Sen would not trust any inspiration of his own that should seem to be opposed to fundamental biblical truth. Nevertheless, he believes that supplementary truth may be discovered through prayer, and that it has been revealed to him that a new dispensation of the Holy Spirit is to come into the world ; and that his church, which is named the Church of the New Dispensation, is to lead this movement ; and that it is to unify all the religions of the earth, — Christian, Mohammedan, and Pagan, — so far as they agree with the inmost voice of conscience. This is what he calls revealed theism, as distinguished from rationalistic theism, or mere cold deism, which he abhors.

He is far more than a deist. He calls Martineau and Parker cold. He cannot tolerate the radical and rationalistic forms of Unitarianism, although it has treated him with the utmost courtesy. There was a time when it was supposed that Mr. Sen would be the leader of a reform of religion in India and make

his new creed substantially Unitarian ; but I asked Mr. Sen, point-blank : “ What do you think of Unitarianism ? ” His answer was : “ It is an icicle. I take pains to call myself not a Unitarian but a Unitrinitarian.” What does he mean by that phrase ? He holds a certain doctrine of the Trinity. Scholars in theology would not regard it as altogether a sound one. He delivered in the Town Hall in Calcutta, just before I visited that city, a really remarkable address on “ That Marvelous Mystery of the Trinity.” But when I came to examine it I found that it would not bear a theological analysis. It was not Unitarianism, however. In order to probe his conviction, I put to him this question, in presence of his theological pupils : “ Do you believe in the preëxistence of Christ ? ” “ Yes, as a divine attribute,” was the answer, which is not orthodoxy. In his lecture on the Trinity, Mr. Sen goes so far as to say : “ Even the coeternity of the Son with the Father, pure theism has fearlessly upheld and proclaimed.” As explained by Babu Mozumdar, Mr. Sen’s chief disciple, this language means only that Christ existed from eternity in the thought of God as a part of the divine plan for the future good of mankind. “ The future Christ, as God meant to create him, was the seed of that dispensation yet undeveloped. In that stage, Christ certainly had no personality.” (“ Theistic Quarterly Review,” July, 1879, p. 4.)

As his very loose and incorrect use of theological terms shows, Mr. Sen has not had a thorough theological education. I was amazed to find that he had never read Canon Liddon’s Lectures on the Divinity

of our Lord, and I gave him a copy of the book. He does not much believe in studying books of theology. He is, as I think, unjustly charged with neglecting study; but he does not regard it as the chief means of arriving at a knowledge of religious truth. In his lecture on the question: "Am I an Inspired Prophet?" he said: "I am not a wise man. How can he who scarcely reads two books in three hundred and sixty-five days be reckoned a wise or a learned man? Yet am I studious. I study not the books of the West nor the books of the East, but the vast volume of human nature." His principle is to lean little on the intellect, but heavily on the conscience and the whole moral nature as a guide in religion. He is, however, far from being unbalanced in the extreme sense of the mystic who believes only in the moral feelings.

He has sound, rounded sense, or he could not be the orator he is. He is an orator born, not made. He has a splendid physique, excellent quality of organization, capacity of sudden heat and of tremendous impetuosity, and lightning-like swiftness of thought and expression, combined with a most iron self-control. You cannot throw him off his balance before any audience, with a manuscript or without one. He is unquestionably the most eloquent Asiatic I ever heard. He speaks English as perfectly as any man in this assembly; he seems to have learned it from the pages of Addison or Macaulay, and not from colloquial usage. His English is extremely pure, and is pronounced without the slightest foreign accent. Six feet in height, with bronze complexion and quite reg-

ular features, he is a commanding figure, in his Asiatic costume, whether seen in public or in private. As you may see from his portrait, which I hold in my hand, he has the oratorical temperament; his lips, cheeks, forehead, eyes, and whole form proclaim this. But he is not a philosopher, I am sorry to say; and so he does sometimes drop into rhapsody, and his moral feelings carry him away. He seems to lack balance occasionally, and so draws down upon himself severe criticism at times. In spite of all this, however, I think him one of the most devout Asiatics I have seen, and undoubtedly a man of intellectual as well as of religious genius, but chiefly strong in the latter. He usually fascinates every one who comes near him, and he has a strange ascendancy over his immediate followers, several of whom are men of high intellectual endowments and finished education.

In Keshub Chunder Sen's house, what happens? How does he instruct his theological students? He has a theological school, quite well patronized, and I have here on the table several of the examination-papers used in it. They include many Christian books, and the questions are very keen on the topics of Providence and prayer and inspiration. In his own dwelling, the Lily Cottage, on Circular Road, in Calcutta, — a mansion with deep verandas on both lower and upper stories, and standing in large, open grounds, among graceful and stately palms, — he has what he calls a sanctuary. I must introduce you to this holy of holies of Mr. Sen's home, if you are to understand this theistic reformer of India. He showed the room to me with a manner of intense

reverence for it, and I willingly regarded it as a sacred place, for here I saw revealed the very heart of natural religion, as understood by a man of high religious genius, outside the pale of Christianity.

Mr. Sen meets his theological pupils and his chief religious associates in his sanctuary nearly every day except Sunday, when he is usually engaged in preaching at his tabernacle. The room is fitted up in Asiatic style. He has a little platform, not more than three or four inches high, on which he is seated in the Asiatic manner. There are mats scattered about the floor for the seats of pupils and apostles. Musical instruments stand in the different corners, — not elaborate instruments, but of the simple ancient Hindu patterns, sometimes one-stringed lyres, such as the *Rishis*, or Hindu saints and recluses, were accustomed to use in their meditations in the solitudes of the Himalayas. After music, Mr. Sen, seated on this platform, enters into a very long prayer. His pupils and followers devoutly believe that in the best parts of his prayer he is inspired. They note carefully not merely his language, but his intonations. When the divine afflatus seems to come to him in his devotions, they feel that they are communing, through him, with the Holy Spirit. They actually believe this, and are correspondingly solemnized. They hold in reverence, however, not the organ, but the divine influence that plays through it.

You might easily be misled by the manner of some of Keshub Chunder Sen's students toward him. I have been seated in his presence when one of his foremost followers came into the room, and immediately

bowed down and kissed Mr. Sen's feet. Mr. Sen has been accused over and over again of allowing personal homage; but kissing of the feet is a courtesy some missionaries have experienced. The distinguished American missionary, Dr. Thoburn, of Calcutta, said to me that he frequently had been obliged to treat a little sternly Asiatics who had offered to kiss his feet with an appearance of personal homage. It is not, in Asia, understood that you regard a man as divine because you kiss his feet, for that is one of the forms of exhibiting extreme reverence. I have seen Mr. Sen's feet kissed, and I have seen him anathematized in English papers for allowing personal homage. It must be admitted that it is a dangerous freedom for him to permit this form of salutation outside of unmixed Hindu circles, where the ceremony is understood.

After more music, perhaps Mr. Sen offers another long prayer, or some other teacher of peculiarly devout temperament offers another, or several do this. It is believed when these prayers agree, all the apostles seeming to be moved in the same way, that an infallible truth is revealed. They insist on that word "infallible." They affirm that inspiration is a gift of our day, and that when two or three are met together, as Christians say, or when a worshiping circle is formed in the Hindu fashion, and prayers are found to agree in the impulses they leave upon genuinely devout hearts, it must be believed that God is in those impulses. There is a poet and musician of high rank usually present at these devotions. Filled with the spirit of

the religious exercises, which continue sometimes four or five hours, and this several days in the week, this poet comes forward at the close of the prayers and, striking his harp, extemporizes a hymn. His rapt words are most carefully taken down by a stenographer; the poet is allowed to correct the record; and thus have come into the possession of the Church of the New Dispensation, so called, more than a thousand original Hindu hymns. Mr. Sen's followers believe that these are in some sense inspired. They found their church upon the doctrines gathered thus out of the mountain-tops of devotion. If you go to them and say that they ought to look into Julius Müller's theology, or Canon Liddon on the Divinity of our Lord, or seek a knowledge of religious doctrine by the study of systematic intellectual presentations of religious truth, they are likely to treat you with much pity and scorn. They say: "Yes, indeed, that is what the theologians of the West do. They study and do not pray. We depend for light on a direct gaze into God's face." "What we mean to say is, that our doctrine and principles of faith and practice are not derived by processes of reasoning, but excited in our hearts by prayer and inner experiences, so that we cannot but view them as directly dispensed unto us by the Spirit of God. For a long time the Brahmo Somaj has ceased to believe in reason as the source of religion, and professed to look up to God for the direct revelation of truth in the soul. The Brahmo Somaj has always held the faculty of faith to be the organ for the discernment of spiritual realities, and assigned in such matters a subordinate place

to reason." ("The Liberal and the New Dispensation," Mr. Sen's newspaper, Calcutta, May 14, 1882.) "The New Dispensation is very different from what is known as Deism. It is also very different from that order of Theism which is only another name for natural religion. This may be called *Rationalistic Theism*, and is legitimately assailable by philosophy. The religion of the New Dispensation is *Revealed Theism*, the deep spiritual religion produced in the soul by the direct contact and manifestations of the Divine Spirit in the history of man's soul and the life of the community called together by that Spirit." (Ibid. July 30, 1882.)

In the religious services in the tabernacle, where Mr. Sen, when his health permits, presides, there is a most impressive ceremony, in which the whole congregation stand up and petition God for light. There is then a silence of several minutes, the whole of it occupied, presumably, in secret devotion. Every member of this church of the New Dispensation seems to be a man of prayer. Remember that these persons do not profess to be Christians. They say little against Christianity. Except by asserting the sufficiency of his form of theism, I could not find that Mr. Sen ever says a word against Christianity. He is an eclectic. He wishes to absorb into his system of faith and practice all those parts of Christianity that can be made to accord with his theistic principles. In moving the vote of thanks in the Town Hall at the close of a course of lectures which I had the honor to give in Calcutta, Mr. Sen said that India is ruled by Christ. On another occasion, in that

massive audience chamber, holding more than 3,000 people, he said: "The crown of India does not belong to Great Britain. It belongs only to Jesus Christ our Lord." He is almost constantly advancing propositions that are nearly Christian in tone, and yet at frequent intervals he puts forward views which too closely resemble mere Hinduism. At times he exclaims: "Blessed Jesus, I am thine. I give myself, body and soul, to thee. Let India revile and persecute me and take my life-blood out of me, drop by drop, still thou shalt continue to have my homage." But almost in the same address he can say: "Christ's dispensation is said to be divine. I say that this dispensation, the Brahmo Somaj, is equally divine."

He has introduced into his church several ceremonies imitated from old Hindu practices. There is great reverence for fire among many Oriental sects, and Mr. Sen has endeavored to transmute one of the old ceremonies, in which the use of fire is very prominent, into an impressive theistic symbol. He brings before his worshiping audience a vessel of metal filled with oil, and places at its side sticks of scented wood. He lights the oil and takes the wood, and, before the whole congregation, throws it, stick by stick, into the flames, saying: "Thus perish our lust, our pride, our worldliness, our unjust anger, all our divergencies from God." The ceremony is exceedingly impressive, for at the end of it the congregation cries out repeatedly, "Victory to God!" and then he pronounces over them, or invokes upon them, the benediction: "Peace, peace!" Several ceremonies of this

kind, introduced by him, with slight changes from the old Hindu ways, appear to be intended to conciliate Hindus. Some of his ceremonies are open to criticism. For instance, he has introduced the drama and theatrical performances, to show the progress of the sinner from a state of rebellion against God into a state of complete union with him. He employs in his own house, sometimes in a room adjacent to the sanctuary, theatrical exercises, to illustrate religious truths. He has dances, which he calls sacred, imitated from Hindu customs. The criticism which many acute missionaries make upon him is that his composite set of ceremonies and religious doctrines has in it so many appeals to ancient Hindu prejudices that it can never lead the mass of the Hindu populations out of their attachments to hereditary misbeliefs. Mr. Sen replies that he is anxious only that Christian truth should be presented to India in an Oriental dress, and that there should be something national left in the religion of Hindustan.

Mr. Sen has been greatly blamed for allowing a daughter of his to be married to a wealthy Hindu prince before she had attained the age which he himself had fixed as the least that should be insisted on in the reform of child marriages in India. The members of the less progressive part of the Brahmo Somaj, from which the church of the New Dispensation is a secession, were especially bitter in their charges against Mr. Sen in regard to this marriage. He and his friends, however, as well as the most intelligent British and American residents of Calcutta whom I met, assert that only a betrothal and not a

marriage took place before the proper age had been reached by the parties, and that the accepted Brahmo principles were really not violated in spirit and hardly in form in this case.

At the centre of the whole theistic movement under Keshub Chunder Sen, however he may be praised or blamed, are the sanctuary which I have described, and himself in communion with God, and the impulse of the Holy Spirit revealed through the individual consciences of his associates in worship.

What are the merits of the theistic movement of India, and especially of the church of the New Dispensation, as led by Keshub Chunder Sen ?

1. It unflinchingly opposes caste and idolatry.

2. It rejects utterly the hereditary misbeliefs of Hinduism as to transmigration of souls, the infallibility of the Vedas, and the spiritual worth of ascetic practices.

3. It is in deadly hostility to child marriages, as it was to the burning of widows, the exposure of the aged to death on the banks of the Ganges, and other familiar abuses fostered by Hinduism.

4. It supports most vigorously the causes of education, temperance, and all philanthropic reform.

5. It is utterly opposed to materialism, atheism, agnosticism, and every form of mere deism.

6. It asserts an ethical monotheism, the fact of a supernatural Providence, and the duty and blessedness of prayer and of total self-surrender to God.

7. It adopts from Christianity whatever it can reconcile with its theistic principles, and regards the Scriptures as the most important of the sacred books in use among men.

8. It seeks, on these positions as a basis, a real and formal union of all the religious sects of every nation in the Christian, the Mohammedan, and the pagan world.

What are the defects of the church of the New Dispensation?

1. It teaches no effective method of delivering men from the guilt of sin.

2. It has not exhibited power to deliver men thoroughly from the love of sin. It has never yet brought men in large numbers and of ordinary education into a spiritually regenerate state. It possesses, in short, no trustworthy doctrine of the New Birth, nor of the Atonement, and so lacks religious efficacy in the points of transcendent moment. It is hence weak, both as a religion and as a philosophy. In practice, its effects, as compared with those of Christianity, are very inconsiderable, and likely to remain so.

3. It adopts self-contradictory principles in its attempts to reconcile the various religions of the world. Its eclecticism is sometimes so broad and inclusive as to become explosive.

4. It carries its doctrine of inspiration to the verge of fanaticism. Wholly without objective proof of the reality of this inspiration, the church of the New Dispensation claims to have received through its leader an infallible revelation for our day. This claim is as mischievous as it is untenable, and, if pushed, is likely to ruin the reputation of the movement with serious and well-educated men, not only in the West, but also in India itself.

5. Theism, in its devoutest and most scholarly form,

is simply a torso, of which Christianity is the necessary completion. A scientific doctrine of conscience, or a profoundly spiritual life, points to the necessity of man's deliverance not merely from the love of sin, but also from the guilt of it. Theism alone, however, without aid from Christianity, has never been able to effect for man this double deliverance. Only Christianity, with its fathomless truths concerning the necessity of the New Birth and of the Atonement, can do this. To set up theism, even its best form, as a rival to Christianity, is to prefer the torso to the whole figure, or the vestibule to the temple.

As compared with the immense population of India, the number of Keshub Chunder Sen's followers is as yet exceedingly small. Something less than two hundred societies, with from fifty to an hundred members in each, include them all. The weekly audience in his tabernacle at Calcutta numbers only about three hundred. There are twenty-four Brahmo missionaries, who act without salary and are supported by the income derived by the mission office from the sale of Brahmo publications, from contributions, and various collections. Mr. Sen presides with almost autocratic spiritual authority over this body of missionaries. ("Faith and Progress of the Brahmo Society," by P. C. Mozumdar, 1882.)

Among the opponents and rivals of pure theism in India there should be noticed the Theosophists of Bombay. Their creed is a singular compound of Hindu occult science with Occidental forms of spiritism, materialism, and atheism. It is vehemently anti-Christian at every point. The Theosophists are

led by two American adventurers — Colonel Olcott and Madame Blavatsky. When I was in Bombay, there came to that city an American infidel, only recently imprisoned at Albany for infamous crime. He was the editor of perhaps the foremost infidel newspaper rag of this continent, — a sheet which I hope very few of you ever see and which deserves to be handled only with the tongs. This man was on trial a few years ago for distributing infamous literature through the mails, and, under our righteous American enactments as to that black crime, was sent to the Albany penitentiary for several months. When he left prison, “Scribner’s Monthly” published an account of him, and the title of the article was “The Apotheosis of Dirt.” When he came to Bombay he was received with open arms by the Theosophists, put on their platforms, and furnished with the very best opportunities to attack Christianity in all its aspects. India thus came to understand the Theosophists, for they knew what the career of this infidel editor had been, and yet locked hands with him in ostentatious public attacks on Christianity. The Theosophists were boasting that they had drawn hundreds of pupils out of the missionary schools. All their documents show that one of their foremost objects is to injure the progress of Christian missions. As the public of India was not acquainted with American vulgar infidelity, I thought it my duty to expose the career of this jail-bird, and I did so. The man came to one of my last lectures, carrying under his coat a horsewhip, which he did not use ! He obtained almost no hearing in Bombay. I was assured

that he drew several hundred pupils out of missionary schools in Ceylon. He had few to listen to him in Japan. I heard of his great disappointments in San Francisco ; but, nevertheless, in every city where he went he was received with open arms by small coteries of atheistic or spiritistic circles, and by those uneasy classes represented by the secular unions and liberal infidel leagues in Great Britain and in this country. I found these people in various parts of the world reading almost the same literature and feeding themselves with the same atrociously unfair intellectual discussions. Men are measured by their reading, their heroes, and their pet measures. Bishop Huntington has said lately that we need not greatly fear any skeptical movement that we cannot intellectually respect. The last news from the American leaders of the Theosophists of India is that they have emigrated from Bombay, and have been unable to obtain any pleasant footing in Calcutta, and so have gone to Madras, which all through India is called the benighted presidency.

Mr. Sinnett's "Esoteric Buddhism" has attracted much attention in England and the United States among people who have read with admiration Edwin Arnold's "Light of Asia," and who are too little acquainted with the East to perceive that this light is twilight. Mr. Sinnett is now known to have been one of Madame Blavatsky's dupes. By the revelations of an assistant of hers in Madras, Madame Blavatsky, author of "Isis Unveiled," has been proved to be a charlatan of the most audacious kind. Sliding panels in doors, and various other mechan-

ical arrangements for producing portents, have been discovered in her official rooms at Madras, and her career as an impostor is ended.

Keshub Chunder Sen is a most vigorous opponent of theosophy and spiritism, as well as of agnosticism and materialism, although he has a brother who is reputed to be a spiritualist. Mr. Sen is the editor of a really able English paper, called "The Liberal," and in it he has frequent passages of his own, which for devotional depth are not often surpassed by our best religious literature.

Conversing once with Keshub Chunder Sen, I happened to use the rather strange English words *theoscopy* and *theopathy*, as I was emphasizing the scientific fact that *natural laws are only the habits of God*, and so ought to give us a constant sense of his omnipresence. Whatever gives a vision of God prompts to total, affectionate, irreversible self-surrender to Him. That surrender itself, more than any other natural cause known to man, gives a new and *inner* sense of the Divine Presence, and so *theoscopy, or the seeing of God, leads to theopathy, or similarity of feeling with God*. Mr. Sen grasped my hand with a sudden, impulsive gesture, and said that these two words expressed ideas which lie at the very centre of his own system of religious faith and practice, and were infinitely dearer to him than life itself. They are by no means the whole of Christianity, however, but only one of the glorious vestibules to it.

In order to show how grand a temple the flaming Hindu soul can make of a mere vestibule, I quote the whole of one of the familiar sermons of Babu P. C.

Mozumdar to his people, as given in his own translation from Bengali ("The Liberal," Oct. 8, 1882). Bhakti and Yoga, which this sermon discusses, may, perhaps, be translated as Intense Love for God, and Communion with God. The impassioned style of this address reveals the genuineness of the spiritual emotions which prompted it, and unveils the most characteristic and valuable part of the religious discipline of the church of the New Dispensation.

YOGA, OR COMMUNION WITH GOD.

[*Translated from Bengali.*]

Sermon, Sunday, September 24th, 1883.

Like my Bhakti, my Yoga is also an acquired virtue. I was not a Yogee when I began my religious life. I did not know what Yoga was, had never heard its name, and I never thought that I should have to walk in this path at any time. My only aspiration was to become thoroughly pure, to reform my character, and to submit completely to the will of God. This was my sole religion, and I never thought that there was anything like Yoga that should form a part of it. Thus did I pass the first fifteen years of my religious life, when, by the grace of God, my heart began to be filled with Bhakti. This Bhakti grew to madness in course of time, and I felt, at last, that it was essentially necessary for me to cultivate Yoga to make my Bhakti lasting. The madness of love seemed to be very transitory, and it appeared to me that nothing but Yoga could keep the fire burning in me. I felt that, as I believed in God, I should be one with Him; as my heart swelled with his love, my eyes should behold Him constantly. But Yoga was quite unknown in the Brahmo Somaj at that time. Thousands of people were drawn toward Bhakti, its influ-

ence was felt throughout the whole community, but people were very slow to appreciate the merits of Yoga. The fire of Bhakti easily spreads itself and catches the hearts of many; but Yoga attracts very few toward it, as it is very difficult to understand and hard to cultivate. In hundreds of years you will find but a handful of men devoted to its cultivation. Therefore, though I became a staunch votary of Yoga, my friends did not follow it. I understood that life was not worth having if I were not one with my Divine Father. No precepts or scriptures taught me this truth; I did not read of Yoga in any book; as the grace of God descended in my heart in the shape of Bhakti, so did the wind of Yoga blow into my soul and I knew not whence it came. From two sides did these two things descend upon me as blessings of Heaven. Bhakti sweetened my Yoga and Yoga sanctified my Bhakti. They were twin brother and sister. Yoga without Bhakti ends in pantheism, and Bhakti without Yoga terminates in superstition. But in my life the rocks of Yoga are adorned with the beautiful gardens of Bhakti. When I open my eyes, I behold the God of Yoga with one eye, and the God of Bhakti with the other. I see my God in everything — in fruit and tree, in sun and moon, in air and light, and in fire and water. He is to me True and at the same time Beautiful. Where I saw earth and clay before, there I see my God now. I did not practice any austerities to attain this God-Vision. I opened my eyes, and saw my Father everywhere and in everything. This is true Yoga. Whenever I look around me, I see the burning presence of my God — his infinite force filling every created being, his wisdom manifest in the whole universe, and his heavenly love embracing all creatures. This vision was not the result of much reading or learning, but it was a gift of Heaven. I did not realize this in the beginning of my religious life; but now the fire of Divine Presence burns in and around me with infinite force, and, like a strong wind,

his Presence touches my whole frame. My Yoga began to be deeper and deeper day by day, and now I am immersed into it day and night. I am not without Him even for a moment, and I cannot imagine how at one time I was a stranger to this state. You may doubt my existence; but you cannot doubt, in the least, the existence of God, who dwells in me. He is one with me. I need not offer you proofs of his existence. If you see me, you will see Him also. You cannot deny the one and accept the other. God will be manifest to you as a thing — a person. I do not believe in the God of books. I believe in Him only whom I see with my own eyes. Brethren, do not believe in the God of imagination; be a Yogee and a Bhakti, and all your wants will be removed. Where I have seen Him you will see Him also. Despair not.

The best description of the faith and practice of the followers of Keshub Chunder Sen is found in the words of the ritual prepared by himself for the ceremony of the initiation of a new member in his Theistic Society.

On the presentation of the candidate the minister shall thus interrogate him : —

Dost thou know and believe in the essential principles of the New Dispensation ?

Candidate. Yes.

Minister. Art thou called by the Lord to join his church ?

Candidate. Yes.

Minister. Art thou resolved to submit to the discipline of the church and to bear witness unto the truth in thy daily life ?

Candidate. Yes ; so help me God.

Minister. Dost thou believe that God is one, that He is infinite and perfect, almighty, all-wise, all-merciful, all-holy,

all-blissful, eternal, and omnipresent, our Creator, Father, Mother, Friend, Guide, Judge and Saviour?

Candidate. Yes.

Minister. Dost thou believe that the soul is immortal and eternally progressive?

Candidate. Yes.

Minister. Dost thou believe in God's moral law as revealed through the commandments of conscience, enjoining perfect righteousness in all things? Dost thou believe that thou art accountable to God for the faithful discharge of thy manifold duties, and that thou shalt be judged and rewarded and punished for thy virtues and vices here and hereafter?

Candidate. Yes.

Minister. Dost thou believe in the Church Universal, which is the deposit of all ancient wisdom and the receptacle of all modern science; which recognizes in all prophets and saints a harmony, in all scriptures a unity, and through all dispensations a continuity; which abjures all that separates and divides, and always magnifies unity and peace; which harmonizes reason and faith, yoga and bhakti, asceticism and social duty in their highest forms; and which shall make of all nations and sects one kingdom and one family in the fullness of time?

Candidate. Yes.

Minister. Dost thou believe in natural inspiration, general and special? Dost thou believe in providence, general and special?

Candidate. Yes.

Minister. Dost thou accept and revere the Scriptures?

Candidate. Yes, so far as they are records of the wisdom and devotion and piety of inspired geniuses, and of the dealings of God's special providence in the salvation of nations, of which records only the spirit is God's but the letter man's.

Minister. Dost thou accept and revere the world's prophets and saints?

Candidate. Yes, so far as they embody and reflect the different elements of Divine character, and set forth the higher ideals of life for the instruction and sanctification of the world. I ought to revere and love and follow all that is divine in them, and try to assimilate it to my soul, making what is theirs and God's mine.

Minister. What is thy creed?

Candidate. The science of God, which enlighteneth all.

Minister. What is thy gospel?

Candidate. The love of God, which saveth all.

Minister. What is thy heaven?

Candidate. Life in God, which is accessible to all.

Minister. What is thy church?

Candidate. The invisible kingdom of God, in which is all truth, all love, all holiness.

Minister. Then avow thy faith in the presence of God Almighty.

Candidate. This day the of 188 , I . . . do in the presence of the Holy God solemnly avow my full faith in the essential principles of Pure Theism and enter the Church of the New Dispensation. So help me God.

Minister. In the name of God I charge thee to eschew all manner of untruth and sin and sectarianism, and lead a life of faith and purity, love and devotion, unto the glory of God and of his holy church.

Candidate. Most merciful God, grant unto me thy redeeming grace that I may magnify thy truth and prove worthy of thy church.

Minister. May the Lord bless thee and be with thee for ever!

The minister shall then present unto the candidate the Flag of the New Dispensation, and two of the members of the congregation shall stand forward and present unto him,

on behalf of the church, a copy of Scriptural Texts, a copy of the New Samhita, and a carpet for daily devotion, and embrace him with brotherly love.

The candidate shall then bow reverently before the Lord, and the whole congregation shall say, —

Peace, Peace, Peace.

Very naturally, Keshub Chunder Sen quotes all the mystics. His object is to bring together all the devout hearts of the world. I part from this theme by reading, as a contrast to the sermon I have cited, Mr. Sen's last and really worst production, and yet it shows to what the man is tending: —

THE NEW DISPENSATION—EXTRAORDINARY.

NEW YEAR'S DAY, JANUARY 1ST, 1883.

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN, a servant of God, called to be an apostle of the Church of the New Dispensation, which is in the holy city of Calcutta, the metropolis of Aryavarta.

To all the great nations in the world and to the chief religious sects in the East and West;

To the followers of Moses, of Jesus, of Buddha, of Confucius, of Zoroaster, of Mohammed, of Nanac, and to the various branches of the Hindu Church;

To the saints and the sages, the bishops and the elders, the ministers and the missionaries of all these religious bodies:

Grace be unto you and peace everlasting.

Whereas, sectarian discord and strife, schisms and enmities prevail in our Father's family, causing much bitterness and unhappiness, impurity and unrighteousness, and even war, carnage, and bloodshed;

Whereas, this setting of brother against brother and

sister against sister in the name of religion has proved a fruitful source of evils and is itself a sin against God and man :

It has pleased the Holy God to send unto the world a message of peace and love, of harmony and reconciliation.

This New Dispensation hath He in boundless mercy vouchsafed to us in the East, and we have been commanded to bear witness unto it among the nations of the earth.

Thus saith the Lord : Sectarianism is an abomination unto me, and unbrotherliness I will not tolerate.

I desire love and unity, and my children shall be of one heart, even as I am one.

At sundry times have I spoken through my prophets, and, though many and various my dispensations, there is unity in them.

But the followers of these my prophets have quarreled and fought, and they hate and exclude each other.

The unity of Heaven's messages have they denied, and the science that binds and harmonizes them their eyes see not and their hearts ignore.

Hear ye, men, there is one music, but many instruments ; one body, but many limbs ; one spirit, but diverse gifts ; one blood, yet many nations ; one church, yet many churches.

Blessed are the peacemakers, who reconcile differences and establish peace, good-will, and brotherhood in the name of the Father.

These words hath the Lord our God spoken unto us, and his new gospel He hath revealed unto us, a gospel of exceeding joy.

The Church Universal hath He already planted in this land, and therein are all prophets and all scriptures harmonized in beautiful synthesis.

And these blessed tidings the loving Father hath charged me and my brother apostles to declare unto all the nations

of the world, that, being of one blood, they may also be of one faith and rejoice in one Lord.

Thus shall all discord be over, saith the Lord, and peace shall reign on earth.

Humbly, therefore, I exhort you, brethren, to accept this new message of universal love.

Hate not; but love ye one another and be ye one in spirit and in truth, even as the Father is one.

All errors and impurities ye shall eschew, in whatever church or nation they may be found; but ye shall hate no scripture, no prophet, no church.

Renounce all manner of superstition and error, infidelity and skepticism, vice and sensuality, and be ye pure and perfect.

Every saint, every prophet, and every martyr ye shall honor and love as a man of God.

Gather ye the wisdom of the East and the West; and accept and assimilate the examples of the saints of all ages,

So that the most fervent devotion, the deepest communion, the most self-denying asceticism, the warmest philanthropy, the strictest justice and veracity, and the highest purity of the best men in the world may be yours.

Above all, love one another and merge all differences in universal brotherhood.

Beloved brethren, accept our love and give us yours, and let the East and the West with one heart celebrate the jubilee of the New Dispensation.

Let Asia, Europe, Africa, and America, with diverse instruments, praise the New Dispensation and sing the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

There are Unitarians, there are friends of merely natural religion, there are theists, in the Occident, who look upon Keshub Chunder Sen as a man who is bringing in the religion of the future for the whole

world through the gate of Asia. Compared with evangelical Christianity in India, the movement which Mr. Sen leads is a bubble. It has a certain power; but, as Christianity begins to obtain hold of the better educated classes, that movement will wane in influence. This religious reformer deserves the prayers of all good men that he may yet be led into a more profound knowledge of Christianity. My objection to his method is not that he prays too much; but that he studies too little. I should not be surprised if, in his advanced years, he should retire to the Himalayas, and there, as a devotee, through a life of comparative solitude and austerity and the profound inspirations of secret prayer, endeavor to make himself a prophet for the ages. It is in the man to do this. He is not a fanatic. A man more remarkable for religious than for intellectual genius, thoroughly honest, he is led by his moral feeling rather than by this and the judgment combined. He will at any cost try to push his effort for the unification of the religions of all races. America and Europe will hear more of that movement. Keep your eyes upon it, and offer, at the same time, devout prayers that Keshub Chunder Sen and all his followers may be led into the Himalayan Heights of Sinai, and there see the need of an Atonement and of the New Birth to deliver men from the love of sin and from the guilt of it.

PARSEE WORSHIP AT SUNSET.

AT half-past five o'clock, as the sun was going down behind the rim of the Indian Ocean, I often saw a score of Parsees worshipping on the shore at Bombay with their faces turned devoutly toward the west. Approaching the water the Parsee first performs an ablution of his hands and face. Sitting erect he unbinds the cord which he uses as a girdle, and which is a symbol of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds. He holds the cord in his hands, and appears to be measuring yard lengths upon it, while he is uttering in a low tone passages from a prayer-book. Sometimes he passes the cord across his face, bows his head toward the sun, and has the air of one absorbed in introversive devout thought. The prayer-book is occasionally held in his hand, but usually he recites from memory. After some minutes he is seen to kneel, touch his forehead to the earth, rise, and kneel again and again with his forehead to the ground. After a few more prayers, uttered while he is sitting erect, his girdle is restored to its place, and he often finishes his devotions before the sun has disappeared. I saw several aged men, however, reading their prayer-books with their faces turned toward the west after the disk of the sun was, out of sight. A Parsee gentleman fell into conversation with me,

and I questioned him somewhat closely as to the mental attitude of the worshipers at these ceremonies. "When an educated Parsee recites prayers at sunset," I asked, "is he thinking of the sun or of its Creator?" "The educated Parsee," was the answer, "thinks of the great Being behind the sun, but perhaps an ignorant Parsee thinks chiefly of the sun itself. The prayers have much the tone of the 148th Psalm." "Fire and hail, snow and vapors, mountains, fruitful trees, praise the name of the Lord."

The Parsee prayers ascribe glory to the sun and the sea, while it is the peculiarity of the mighty psalm here cited that it calls on the sun and the sea to ascribe glory to their Creator. This Parsee gentleman was intelligent enough to recommend to me Spiegel and Haug as among the chief writers on Parseeism. He admitted that Parsees can be found who go through these ceremonies often, and yet cheat every day in their bargains. A moderate amount of serious light was in the faces of the worshipers as they turned away. Among the older men who were worshiping in the park near the sea with their faces toward the west, I saw two or three with peaceful and noble spiritual moods illuminating their regular and somewhat massive features with the light from the Sun behind the sun.

PARSEE TOWERS OF SILENCE.

It was a bright, and not cool, morning when Mrs. C. and myself, armed with a letter of introduction from Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeeboy, drove along the crest of Malabar Hill to the grounds in which stand the famous Parsee Towers of Silence. All the freshness of the hour was needed to prevent a natural feeling of dissuasive horror, which might have prevented our visit had we yielded to our shudders rather than to our judgments. On a palm near the inclosure we saw a group of gorged vultures sunning themselves in the rising light of the east. We ascended a broad stone staircase and passed into a stony field of some seven or ten acres, with tall palm-trees and a few not very stately lower growths scattered over it. Five towers of costly hard black granite, the largest of them about twenty-five feet high by fifty in diameter, stood on the heights of this field. They are colored white and are without ornament. Each one has a well in the centre. From the opening of this pit, an inner floor slopes at a gentle incline upwards to the rim of the tower. Corpses are placed on this slope. Those of men lie at the outer edge, those of women in the middle, those of children at the rim nearest the well's mouth.

The theory of the Parsees is that earth, fire, and water are too sacred to be defiled by the touch of a corpse. They expose a naked dead body on these Towers of Silence, and expect the sun and the wind

and the rain, with the help of insects, to dispose of the fleshy part of the mortal remains. At Bombay, however, and in most other places within the tropics, swifter messengers than insects are sent to do the work of causing a corpse to disappear. No sooner is the naked body exposed than scores of vultures sweep down upon it. Within fifteen minutes, in most cases, the fleshy part is entirely removed from the osseous structure, and the gorged birds take their positions on the parapets of the towers. I counted twenty of these plethoric cormorants sitting almost motionless as a living coping around the edge of one of the largest structures. When the bones are dry they are picked up with tongs by men appointed for the purpose, and dropped into the well. Thus the dust of the rich and that of the poor are, at last, found in one receptacle. A Parsee is accustomed to say that God sends the vultures to do their horrid work in these towers, and that he had rather be eaten by birds than by worms. Monier Williams, reporting at length the defenses which the Parsees offer for their methods of disposing of corpses, endeavors to be tolerant of their shocking characteristics, and would seem to regard them as not more repulsive than Christian methods of burial. The disfigurement of the body, however, by the vultures; the picking out of the eyes and the heart, not to mention a thousand and one other easily imaginable necessary horrors of the process, are a sufficient condemnation of the rather barbaric Parsee custom. In ordinary burial the figure may remain for years untouched within a leaden coffin, or even within a wooden one. Member is not separated

from member, even after the body returns to dust. Shakespeare's imprecations against any who should move his bones might well be called down upon the Parsee vultures. Near the Towers of Silence the reservoirs of water for Bombay lie, with wide gleaming surfaces, exposed to the sun. It is one of the questions agitated by the municipal government of the population who drink this water whether the vultures can be trusted not to pollute it, in case corpses filled with contagious diseases are carried to the Towers of Silence. It has been proposed to cover the reservoirs in order to prevent the contamination of the water, and another project is to force the Parsees to erect new towers at a distance from the city.

ON SHIPBOARD, NEAR SINGAPORE, *April 5, 1882.*

Twenty-one towns visited ; forty-two public appearances ; eighty-four consecutive days in India and Ceylon ; three months precisely, from January 5 to April 5, between landing at Bombay and arrival at Singapore ; such is the substance of my record in India. When my ship turns the end of the Malay Peninsula and sets her prow toward Hong Kong, I shall feel myself in China. From Singapore eastward, letters go to America by the way of the Pacific, so that, when I pass this corner of the world, I shall begin to feel the winds from the Sierra Nevada and the Rocky Mountains, and even from my own Adirondacks and Lake George !

The Ganges is a part of my soul. The Himalayas have entered into the substance of my spirit. They

will remain there forever. The Taj Mahal is possessed of a permanent place in my daily thoughts. At any moment I feel as if I could touch the Kutub Minar, the temples of Benares, the University towers of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. I see vividly the mighty harbors of the presidential cities of India, the stately bungalows in which I have been a guest, the crowded railway trains, the swarming markets, the multiplex life of 250,000,000 of men between Ceylon and Cashmere. I have my favorites among the tropical trees, which are no more strange to me, — the whole family of palms, areca, talipot, palmyra, cocoa-nut, and date; the peepul, the mango, the tamarind, the margosa, the Pride of India, the bamboo, the coffee shrub, the tea plant, the bread fruit, the mighty banyan. I remember the Bengal tigers in their jungles, and the elephants in the forests of Ceylon and in the temples. I see the green parrots flying through the gardens of the Taj Mahal. There is a little bird, the barbet, or coppersmith, with a single mellow note like that of the cuckoo, a drop of celestial melody, which I have heard with intense delight from the foot of Kinchinjunga to the southernmost palms of Ceylon.

After all, however, the most interesting objects I have seen in India have not been its rivers, nor its mountains, nor its trees, nor its monuments, but its men. No sight between the Himalayas and the sea has moved me as much as my audiences. They have appeared to me more worthy of study than any other fascinating view on which my eyes have rested. Brahmins, Parsees, Mohammedans, students, clerks,

merchants, English, Scotch, Americans, but especially the educated English-speaking Hindus in their most critical stage of transition from their traditional unbelief to a new philosophical and religious faith, and crowding to hear discussions addressed to them in English on the highest themes, — these varieties of human types remain in my memory and make my months in India a marvelous enrichment of life.

IV.

WOMAN'S WORK FOR WOMAN IN ASIA.

WITH A PRELUDE ON

RELIGION IN COLLEGES, AT HOME AND
ABROAD.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTIETH LECTURE IN THE
BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN
TREMONT TEMPLE, MARCH 12, 1885.

71533

"In consequence of our increasing enlightenment we have become capable of comprehending Christianity in its purity. Let mental culture go on advancing ; let the natural sciences go on gaining in depth and breadth, and the human mind expand as it may, it will never transcend the height and moral culture of Christianity as it shines and glows in the gospels!" — GOETHE: *Conversations with Eckermann*.

"Jesus represents within the sphere of religion the culmination point beyond which posterity can never go ; yea, which it cannot even equal. He remains the highest model of religion within reach of our thought. No perfect piety is possible without his presence in the heart." — DAVID F. STRAUSS.

"There are no homes in Asia !" — W. H. SEWARD.

"Rise, woman, rise
To thy peculiar and best altitudes
Of doing good and of enduring ill,
Of comforting for ill, and teaching good,
And reconciling all that ill and good
Unto the patience of a constant hope, —
Rise with thy daughters. If sin came by thee,
And by sin, death, — the ransom-righteousness,
The heavenly life and compensative rest
Shall come by means of thee."

MRS. E. B. BROWNING.

PRELUDE IV.

RELIGION IN COLLEGES, AT HOME AND ABROAD.

IT is an exceedingly significant fact that for fifty years the number of our college students has increased more than twice as fast as that of our population. In 1830 there were only 4,021 college students in the United States ; now there are 62,435. (See American Almanac for 1883, p. 47.) What aspiration this one fact reveals in the American masses ; what heroic self-help on the part of many young men ; what generous assistance from parents of large incomes ; what pathetic self-denial in the case of many a father and mother of limited or narrow means, but resolved to lift their son to an opportunity better than their own ! Webster once invoked a curse upon himself if he ever forgot what his father did for his education. Carlyle felt through his whole life that he was standing on his father's shoulders. Let men who are not self-made remember who made them. Accursed is everything that brings a cloud or even a haze between a young man and father and mother, brother or sister ! Let students saturate their individual secret college lives with home life and home life with college life.

It is said that three bad men give a tone to a regi-

ment. Six bad men will give a tone to almost any college class. With such great classes as our universities of the first rank now have, it is uncommon not to find that number of bad men in a class. Under the subtle operation of precedents in college life, a few wild youth may give a lasting taint to many a society organized in their university. A college full of undergraduates is a world in itself; but its members are not selected to match each other in moral matters.

A young man who goes into college cringing and ducking, and acts like a poltroon in his first few weeks, in presence of a few rough-shod moral misleaders in his class, is very likely to be trampled on through his whole four years. A young man who allows himself to be ridden over by the moral roughs of a college for four years is likely to be ridden over by the moral roughs of professional life, and most especially by those of politics and commerce. He is not likely to have courage to stand erect in presence of the huge vices of our time. It is, therefore, of the utmost consequence that a young man entering college should be taught, in the first place, to confront undergraduate giddiness with moral courage and manliness.

If a young man is ruined in college, it is at least possible that he is not worth saving. If a young man, after such training as now usually precedes a college course, cannot stand up in college against the ordinary moral temptations of the place, against the sneers of a few dissipated classmates, against the petty annoyances that may be inflicted on him

in his earlier college years because of his moral attitude, then I say that such a young man is probably not worth saving for the great purposes of a courageous public life. We must look upon such men as, in most cases, weaklings and poltroons, and try to create a soul under the ribs of their death by pointing out their cowardice.

Some men, I know, are naturally shy and others brave; but to each temperament Providence assigns special weapons of self-protection. The sharp-horned elk in the wilds of Africa has been known to be sometimes a fatal antagonist of a lion. A Dean Stanley, in his preparatory school, used to kneel down at his bedside, in the midst of jeers from all quarters of a great apartment, and sometimes under missiles hurled at him from this corner or that, and offer his prayers as he did aforetime on his father's hearth. A shy boy, perhaps, never went into a rough public school; but in after life this man exhibited the same bravery to the very end that he manifested as a mere youth. His character in his public career, like that of many another scholar, was formed in part by the experience he had of standing up with vigor in defense of his moral ideals when he was in the preparatory school and in college.

In class pride and in the mechanical arrangements of students in colleges, there is a subtle temptation to make complaisance the rule, even in presence of vice. Young men are arranged alphabetically on the seats of the university class-rooms, and, perhaps, a man of high moral principle sits side by side with a moral leper. A wilted debauchee is not a fruit of the

Tree of Life so much as a husk and a pod. The sap of youth is already drawn out of him by his vices. He is a cinder already, but you may sit beside him for four years. Still, of course, you must be courteous. A hero must be a gentleman; but a gentleman may also be a *gentleman*, and the full height of culture is obtained only by emphasizing both parts of this word. You must do what decency requires, but you need not invite that man to your room; you need not form any social affiliations with him. You may treat him with courteous good-humor here and there; possibly you may have an opportunity to say a serious word to him more than once before your quadrennial shall end. Marvelous opportunity this is for you to rescue a brand from the burning!

Do you say that this is unpopular language in universities? I have seen too many college brands burned to thin ashes not to be willing to use this language with entire frankness face to face with the haughtiest university on earth. I am some years out of the university, and I tell young men who are now in college, that, ten years after they are out of it, if they will call the roll of the dissipated men that they knew in their quadrennial, they will usually find seven out of ten of them approaching early graves. I do not know one man who had the reputation of a dissipated person in my college course that now has a position of any honor in a profession. The test of the seaworthiness of new ships is to launch them in the surf.

Ten years of self-support show of what substance young men in college were really made. It is possi-

ble that a wealthy man's son in college may be dissipated, and yet live a smooth outer life ; but after he is out of college, let him be forced to take care of himself, let him begin to work in some serious business, let him enter a toilsome profession, and very soon his fibre shows that it has not much firmness. He is morally disintegrated, if not melted, by his vices. His will is weak, even if his body has not been severely injured. The result in most cases is that he stumbles in his first efforts, and, stumbling there, he stumbles more or less in his second, and competition passes him by. In the rough contests of professional life he is very soon under foot and forgotten.

Some dissipated men have been saved by an exacting profession, and some by a happy marriage, which no dissipated man deserves ; but these are exceptional cases. You must not look forward to any such issue of your dallying with vice. It is indeed possible that as you grow older you will see that the apples of Sodom are full of dust and ashes, and are not food for rational souls. Mere ambition may lift you into something like honor, if not into religious principle. It is possible that love may take up the harp of your life, and —

“Smite on all the chords with might,
Smite the chord of self, which, trembling,
May in music pass from sight.”

Perhaps this is what will happen, also, with sensuality, and with indolence, and with all those loathsome habits which you have hugged to your bosom in your dissipated college course. But the probability is that these vipers will continue to feed on

your heart's core until you pass into your grave. I say, therefore, to the young men of honor in college, Shake off from the very first all company that is not respectable. Daniel Webster read through the life of Lord Byron, and said that there was not a single trait in Byron's earlier character that he could respect; and that, therefore, he cared for no close association with the soul of Byron, simply because he was not respectable. He admired his genius, but remembered that in the long course, under the operation of the law of the survival of the fittest, he comes nearest to success who is nearest to God.

By what methods may a man secure the right moral management of his life in college?

1. Association of the intimate kind only with respectable fellow-students, no matter how long the period of college acquaintanceship may be, nor what class sentiment may dictate.

2. Devout cultivation of all the affections, sanctities, honors, and blisses of home life.

3. Settlement of a plan for success in this world and the next.

Benjamin Franklin, whom Thomas Carlyle called the father of all shrewd Americans, and of whom the French love to say that he wrenched the sceptre from tyrants and the lightning from heaven, was accustomed, at the close of every day, even in the busiest parts of his mercilessly crowded life, to examine his actions and motives, and place against himself marks, black or white, according to the judgment of the innermost moral sense. While he was an ambassador at Paris he kept up this habit, and carried

with him a little book ruled in thirteen columns in one direction and in seven in the other, and containing the names of the cardinal virtues, in which it was his purpose to make himself, if possible, perfect.

The next world is clearly visible from many of the heights of youth. Let young men cultivate assiduously the wisdom which these moments give the soul. Take your loftiest moods and make them the guiding constellations of your lives.

“Falter not to seize thy fore-wish,
Where the many fear to clasp;
Noble minds may all accomplish
They perceive and promptly grasp.”

4. Preparation to meet the demands of your own intellectual and spiritual growth.

One mischief among young men is that they do not anticipate their own mental and moral development. Have not you outgrown the love of rocking-horses and kites and candies, and are you not likely to outgrow many of your present tastes? Provide for what you will be when, at forty years of age, or thirty-five, or thirty, you are in the midst of a crowded professional life.

5. Anticipation of marriage.

Remember what you will desire when you have a fireside of your own. A most delicate theme, you say, to mention to university students. Would God that it were mentioned somewhere every week in the ears of young men in colleges! Would God that the future fire of the hearthstone could lie as a living coal on every tempted heart in our circles of young men in university towns! When I left Phillips

Academy, a great professor in Andover Theological Seminary said, in a farewell address to my class: "In view of the temptations of a college life, it would be well for every young man to have laid on his heart a living red-hot coal of God Almighty's wrath." Put upon the hearts of young men large gatherings of coals out of their anticipated future family fires. Take the burning incense off the marriage altar, and place it, while yet you are in college, on your heart, and through the ascending clouds of that holy oblation vice will reveal itself to you as the unspeakably odious thing it is.

6. High intellectual aims, unflinchingly pursued in face of every discouragement.

If a young man is tempted in college, let him aim to be first in his class, and very soon temptation will lose its attractiveness. My conviction is that most young men underrate the extent of self-improvement they are capable of achieving under the permanent pressure of high aims or the necessities of a profession.

7. Intellectual and moral nearness to the greatest and best men and persistent aloofness from the weakest and worst in college faculties.

It perhaps ill becomes me to speak of the living among our revered college instructors; but I cannot resist the temptation to mention three or four men who stand as watch-towers on the stormy coasts of university careers — Mark Hopkins [applause], President Woolsey, James McCosh.

At least twelve hundred students have been graduated from Princeton College since President Mc-

Cosh became the head of the institution, and only six or eight of them have gone into the world believing nothing. [Applause.] President McCosh is a philosopher of most eminent rank, abreast of modern science, and almost monthly publishing discussions that lead thought in the most learned circles, here and abroad. Sixteen years minister with a colleague in a Scottish church of fourteen hundred communicants, sixteen years professor of philosophy at Belfast University, and now nearly sixteen years president of Princeton College, this citizen of two hemispheres has to-day a voluntary class of some three hundred students in philosophy, and at the same time is one of the highest authorities in the world of advanced theological thought. He is not a sectarian. If he thought he had a drop of sectarian blood in his veins, President McCosh would be glad to open them and let it out. [Applause.] But he believes in clear ideas, he believes in spiritual purposes, he believes in conscience, he believes in natural religion and in revealed, and he allows his light to shine to the thirty-two points of the compass. In spite of his learning, in spite of the dignity of his office, in spite of the majesty of his character—or, rather, on account of it—he is accustomed to take young men to his study for personal conversation on religion and for prayer. Very few skeptical and dissipated young men leave Princeton without knowing what the president's private advice is in its relations to these high matters. I have read a statement of President McCosh concerning four young men who were particularly given to skepticism, and who re-

fused, even under these influences, to be brought into anything like what he would call a reasonable mood. These four young men, although they left college nearly or quite agnostic, atheistic, or infidel in their general positions, all became Christian believers within ten years and three of them preachers. [Applause.] May Almighty God multiply in our colleges men like Thomas Arnold and Mark Hopkins and President Woolsey and James McCosh, and a starry list of others whom your reverent thoughts will call to mind!

With emotions fitly expressed only by a famous poem of Matthew Arnold's, I stood once a long while alone in the stately chapel of Rugby, at the side of the marble slab in the floor covering the spot where Thomas Arnold lies at rest until the heavens be no more. A ray of the westering English sun fell upon it in benediction; but it seemed to come from the American heavens, so dear is this man's memory to hundreds here who never saw his face.

I know not what may be the horror of a man who feels that he has ruined the physical life of another or poisoned the body; but what ought to be the unspeakable horror of any college professor or president who by his sneers at Christianity poisons a soul? A man who exerts a bad influence from a college chair becomes a block over which young men by scores, and possibly by hundreds, may stumble into moral disaster or a crippled state of soul, which will prevent stalwartness in their public lives, when they are called on to perform the highest duties. Would God that the few Gallios who reach college chairs, and treat

religion with empty unconcern, could read with due appreciation Tennyson's poem on the temple of culture in the "Palace of Art!" After three years of isolated pride, Tennyson's soul, according to this poem, fell down in despair, called on God to teach it to pray, and to show it the means of deliverance from guilt. These acts are the loftiest pinnacles of culture.

Would God that we could have in the churches at large such a vernal season as to melt all the masses of ice in the frozen altitudes of culture and transform them into bursting, perennial, crystalline springs and living, leaping streams on the mountain-sides of our universities, flowing down into the lower slopes of education, and fertilizing the great valleys with an inundation without ebb, and so passing as triumphant, far-flashing rivers, with universal benedictions, into the ocean of eternity! [Loud applause.] That is the service the world needs from college professors. Let them be rivers, and not glaciers, even if they are on the stately summits of Harvard. [Laughter and applause.]

Let me defend here the good name of my Alma Mater, for there is not a paving-stone nor an elm-tree in the grounds of Harvard University, in Cambridge yonder, that is not a treasure to me. Her religious condition is vastly better now than it was a generation ago; immensely better than it was at the opening of the century. Thirty years ago only nine per cent. of the students of Harvard were professed Christians; to-day the proportion is thirty-two per cent. (The Rev. C. F. Thwing, in "Christian Union" March 1,

1883. See also his excellent volume on "American Colleges," pp. 55-68.) There are little swirls of reaction now and then in the Harvard College life; but she must not be judged by these, but by her averages of influence, — not that I regard a student there as at any time in a hot-house intended to cause the growth of evangelical piety! [Laughter.] A man who goes through Harvard and stands erect is likely to be able to stand erect afterward. [Applause.] Harvard is now either the best or the worst place in our colleges in which to grow Christians, just as the open field is the best or worst place in which to grow a stalwart oak. If the oak yields, it snaps and lies prostrate; but if it stands erect, if it throws out victorious branches to all the buffeting tempests, then, on account of the buffeting, it grows the stronger, and at the last becomes rounded and mighty toward the four quarters of the heavens. Its strength has been derived from the very winds that have assailed it by day and by night. Let a young man thus stand erect in college, and the more stern the conditions of his temptation the stronger he is likely to be in his spiritual maturity.

8. Establishment of the chief points of religious belief.

You cannot study the whole system of theology before you are graduated. But set apart some portion of your time — I do not care if it is the whole leisure of every Sunday — for the study of the points on which you are most in doubt, and as to which you most feel your need of confirmation of conviction. Let several hours a week be used for special spiritual education,

such as you require. Each man's case differs from that of every other man in many points. Let every young man go to the best and not to the second best adviser for religious guidance. If any college professor, hearing an account of your peculiar temptations, turns upon you and asks simply, with a pagan stare: "What have you been eating? Is not something the matter with your stomach?" turn from that man, shake off the very dust of your feet against him, and remember that the days of paganism have passed with men of clear ideas. It is atrocious to find college professors giving stones, when they are asked to give bread. You will find professors to meet your need, if you search for them.

There ought to be a pastor in every university, some man of eminent native endowments, of unsullied splendor of character, of unstinted largeness of intellectual acquisitions, of burning spiritual zeal, and broad, balanced love of progress. Let such a person stand before young men, and he will draw them as the magnet draws the needle. It cannot but be that a wise preacher will produce in his hearers the image of God, if only he is himself rightly intoxicated with God. Of what are our trustees dreaming, that they leave many colleges and schools, which are the most important parishes of New England, almost wholly without pastors of adequate equipment?

9. Let young men seek balance of culture. If I were to develop one feature in the countenance at the expense of another, I should be doing very much what is done in many college courses. It is the balance of features that makes the expression of the human face.

The operation of an exclusively secular college course is to enlarge the eyes and lips, and sometimes the chin [laughter], and leave the other features unchanged. This is the style of human being that is apt to be produced by a merely scientific and classical, and not distinctively religious, university — a truncated, topless moral cone — the loftiest thing in the student not yet developed. Let young men remember that it is symmetry of development that secures strength. The effort of our time to make men specialists is a glorious and necessary one, indeed ; but it has grave dangers. The fragmentariness and narrowness of the culture of our average specialists are not enough emphasized. There is nothing much worse in the educational hazards of our time than a tendency to drill men out of all symmetry, into mere specialists. Any college that does not seek to give its students moral training, in some such sense as to lift them up to the really highest ideals of religious aspiration, is a one-sided affair and should be criticised in the name of culture.

Rawness of thought in ethical and religious matters characterizes the graduates of secular governmental universities in India and Japan to such a degree that the crudest speculations of the agnostic and materialistic school are often received as the maturest wisdom of the Occident. The native reformers of Bengal, under the lead of Keshub Chunder Sen, are protesting with not a little success against the complete secularization of the courses of university studies in India.

10. Scipio Africanus never began any public enter-

prise of importance without first going to the Capitol and sitting some time alone, receiving, as he thought, communications from the gods. This pagan, one of the very noblest of the Romans, conqueror of Hannibal, his daughter the mother of the Gracchi, moved through his crowded and tumultuous life in the atmosphere of secret prayer. I keep a marble antique bust of Scipio Africanus in my parlor, and every day it is an inspiration to me, — the scar on the forehead, the massiveness of the head, the uprightness of the look, the wary, searching, terrible Roman courage of the man! Nothing apologetic or craven about him, nothing unbalanced, nothing deceitful, his soul a globe of intense white fire! He would, as I believe, have been a Christian, and even a devout student of the innermost mysteries of Christianity, if it had been presented to him. Mr. Emerson objected strenuously to the abolition of devotional public exercises in colleges. Hegel called prayer the highest act of the human spirit.

Let us unhesitatingly give the leadership of the highest education in the world to Him who was man at his climax, and so bring the whole earth into God's bosom! [Loud applause.]

LECTURE IV.

WOMAN'S WORK FOR WOMAN IN ASIA.

IN the Southern Pacific Ocean, as I was pacing the deck of my ship and looking toward the Fiji Islands, I was told on indisputable authority that, in this paradise of the great deep, young girls were once fattened and sold in the public market as stall-fed cattle, for food.

We are informed by entirely trustworthy African travelers that sometimes, when a king of the tropical regions of the Dark Continent dies, a river is turned out of its course by artificial means, a deep and broad excavation dug in its dry channel, a score or more of the king's male servants beheaded at the edge of this pit, and another score of human beings, called his wives, put into the pit alive. A platform of wood supporting the dead body is then constructed above them, and other wives are placed on the platform, clasping the limbs of the corpse. The earth is then shoveled into the pit upon all this palpitating mass of humanity, and the river is brought back to its course.

Such is or was recently, the condition of women under the darkest shadows of paganism; but in India, under enlightened government, multitudes of women are in a condition scarcely less horrible.

According to an authentic and most recent official statement, which I hold in my hand, there are 21,000,000 of widows in India, and half of these were never wives. Even under the rule of a Christian empress, paganism makes the condition of widows in India so desolate that it is a common remark among Hindus that, as a fate for a young woman, the old form of immolation by fire is preferable to enforced widowhood. Distressing beyond our conception must be a life compared with which suttee is a blessing; and yet suicides are occurring in India almost every week, prompted only by the terrible sufferings incidental to widowhood enforced by law and social custom.

How early may a Hindu girl be married? At eight years, perhaps earlier. She may be betrothed, possibly, when she is in her cradle. Her intended husband is often an aged Brahmin, who soon dies. But the Hindu rule is that, if the person to whom the girl is betrothed, and whom, it may be, she has never seen, dies, the girl must remain a widow for life. The theory is that it is honorable in a woman to do all she can for the preservation of the health and the advancement of the temporal and spiritual prosperity of her husband. If evil befalls him, suspicion fastens upon her; if he dies, the extreme Hindu teaching is that it is right to treat her with disrespect, and that all the honor you give the husband should rebound as dishonor shown to his widow. The multitude of widows who never were wives shows how many persons betrothed have been separated by death before marriage occurred.

Among orthodox Hindus, the widow must take off

her ornaments and sell them to maintain herself. She must "eat her jewels." I do not affirm, by any means, that these rules of pagan orthodoxy are always carried out to-day with the higher classes of Hindus; but, with 250,000,000 of people in Hindustan, there are, excluding Mohammedans, probably 150,000,000 among whom such rules are very thoroughly followed. When the widow has "eaten her jewels," she may be supported by the family to which she belongs, but not before. Even when the time comes in which she may legally be supported, she is expected to practice very frequent fasts. The rule is that she shall take but one meal a day. Whether ill or well, when her fast-day occurs, she must abstain wholly from food for twenty-four hours. She shaves her head. A Hindu woman is naturally proud of the glorious ornament of her black tresses, and when she loses them and all her ornaments, she is degraded in social standing, — not in the sense of dropping into infamy, but she becomes almost a chattel in a family. She is really the drudge of the household in which she obtains a precarious support. She may be kicked and cuffed; she may be thrust into corners with the rats and bats and the rubbish of the house; she may be made to undergo the severest physical labor of which she is capable. All this, in most cases, does not touch at all the pride of the head of the household, nor his sympathy. She is a widow; she is a thing.

In many places in Northern India I saw little white stone monuments at prominent spots on hillslopes and in the vicinity of temples, and occasionally by the sea-shore. These memorials were erected

in honor of those who had performed suttee ; that is, to widows who had burned themselves on the funeral pyres of their husbands. A certain holy dignity was supposed to belong to this act. A lady well acquainted with the opportunities of observation which I had in the East was told by a cultured Hindu gentleman in Bombay that in very many cases suttee is undoubtedly preferable to enforced widowhood ; and that, as the government forbids suttee and does not forbid enforced widowhood or child marriages, an old remedy for one of the miseries of Hindustan has been taken out of the hands of its population ! A remark of that kind may be a bubble, indeed, but it shows which way terrible currents of distress run. Suttee has destroyed its thousands, but the custom of child marriages its tens of thousands.

The British government ought to prohibit child marriages, as it did suttee. It should prohibit them as it did the crushing of men and women under the wheels of the car of Juggernaut. It should prohibit them as it did the exposure of the aged and of the very sick on the banks of the Ganges, and the filling of their mouths and nostrils with the sacred mud, even before life was extinct, and occasionally, no doubt, for the purpose of bringing life to an end. Just as the British government has prohibited thug-gery and hook-swinging, so the best reformers are now claiming it might and ought to prohibit the child marriages, which are the pedestal on which enforced widowhood stands.

If the noble constituency of the various American women's missionary societies should unite with their

English and Scottish coadjutors in sending to her Britannic Majesty a memorial urging the prevention of child marriages in India by the law of the empire, they would, in my judgment, be doing not only a benevolent but also a timely and dignified act.

It will be said that the British government in India has deliberately adopted the policy of neutrality in regard to the religion of its subjects. Child marriages and enforced widowhood, however, are no more a part of Hindu religion than were suttee and hook-swinging and exposure under the wheels of the car of Juggernaut. Government abolished the latter, and has thus set a precedent which may be followed in the abolition of the former. In the Native Converts' Remarriage Act, the British government of India distinctly disregards Hindu custom and law by giving Christian women the opportunity of securing a divorce and the right of remarriage. There is thus opened to wives a privilege which, according to Hindu law, had belonged only to husbands. Many memorialists, among whom are hundreds of native gentlemen and a large number of missionaries, English, Scotch, German, and especially American, ask the government to follow up this precedent. Child marriages, in certain circumstances, might be treated only as betrothals. The government is hindered from taking an active part in the abolition of child marriages, not by the want of power, but chiefly by the fear of venturing on a step which might cause commotion in British India. (See President Woolsey on Christianity and Child Marriages in India, the "Independent," December 21, 1882.)

It is impossible to speak frankly on many delicate portions of my theme this morning ; but who doubts that child marriages explain a portion of the physical weakness of the Hindus? Who doubts that this race, which came from the northwest side of the Himalaya Mountains, and belongs to the same stock with ourselves, would be developed under far more favorable circumstances for the production of strength if child marriages were abolished?

The seclusion of woman in zenanas is so rigid that medical science, as well as instruction in Christianity, ought to be carried to the doors of Hindu households by women.

A man is not consulted as a physician by a woman in a Hindu household. You find some of the poorer classes of the Hindus ready to go to the hospitals that the missionaries open, and obtain medicine ; but, as a general rule, a Hindu woman had rather die than receive assistance from a man as a physician, at least, if the assistance requires that he should enter the zenana, the sacred female apartments of the Hindu home. An American medical missionary was not long ago called on to save the life of a wife of a prominent Hindu gentleman, after the native physicians had failed to be of service. He could not see the patient ; he was refused admission to the zenana. Finally, as the case was urgent and as the head of the household had a somewhat unusual freedom from Hindu prejudices, the physician was permitted to go into the room where the woman lay ill. She stretched her arm through a curtain. He was not allowed to feel the pulse ; but the husband felt it,

under the direction of the physician, and thus a certain amount of information was obtained in dubious style. A slit was cut in the screen, and the poor patient made to protrude her tongue through it; and so the physician obtained further knowledge as to her physical state, prescribed the proper remedies, and her life was saved. But that husband would rather have seen his wife on her funeral-pile than have allowed this missionary to see her. Who can remedy these terrible mischiefs endured by women in Asia, except female medical missionaries? They are wanted throughout all India. They are wanted in large numbers. An angel from heaven itself, as has been often said, would not be welcomed in many Hindu zenanas more cordially than a well-instructed female physician.

There comes a new life into a household, and in those sacred hours when a mother trembles between this world and the next, she is usually treated like a thing, even in the best orthodox pagan-Hindu families. She is put into the worst room, probably, and for days and weeks no one is allowed to go near her. The air of the room may be like that of a miniature Black Hole of Calcutta, and yet there is no attempt made to purify it. She has only coarse food. Any touch of this mother by other members of the household is pollution. Many lives have been lost simply by this barbaric exposure under circumstances when all human instincts called for the use of the highest medical skill. Send India, then, medical missionaries, equipped with the best learning of our Occidental science; send medical missionaries, females,

with their hearts aflame with the Gospel; and, beyond any doubt, you will be doing for India what Christ our Lord meant that his disciples should do, when he said to them: "Heal the sick, preach the Gospel." The two duties go together, and we are to follow them to the ends of the earth.

Among the evils of woman's condition in Asia, I ask you to keep long and often in your thoughts the almost total neglect of the education of daughters; the arbitrariness of divorce; the bondage to coarsest and severest physical toil; infanticide, especially in China; the binding of the feet of Chinese women; the vices of the scoundrel whites in the sea-ports of the Orient; and lastly, polygamy.

The chief remedies for the evils of woman's condition in Asia are zenana teaching by female missionaries; homes for temporary assistance to women; female medical missionaries; female schools; admission of women to university examinations; abolition of child marriages by law; a pure gospel taught to the whole community; native helpers in abundance; and new fashions set by imperial courts and by the upper classes.

The Parsees of Bombay, a remnant of the old Persians, are beginning to educate their daughters almost as thoroughly as their sons. Throughout Asia the cry is rising that women must be taught the elements of education. The most surprising, and perhaps the most significant, increase in missionary work in India in the past decade has been in the department of woman's work. Not only have four new ladies' societies entered the field since 1871, but there has

been an amazing development of indigenous workers. In 1871 there were 947 native Christian female agents engaged in missionary work. In 1881 there were no less than 1,944. The number of European and Eurasian ladies reported is 541. The successors of Lydia and Priscilla and Phebe and Persis and the daughters of Philip already outnumber the 586 men who not many years ago monopolized the use of the title "missionary." The progress of zenana work has been astonishing. Ten years ago Bengal had more zenana pupils than all the rest of India put together. Now the Northwest provinces have the largest number of this class of pupils. The total number of female pupils has increased from 31,580 to 65,761.

It is not enough to send female physicians to India. A sufficient number of native women must be taught medical science, to make the supply of female native physicians unfailing. A most hopeful scheme is now being discussed in Bombay for the opening of the great medical colleges of India to women, and for the founding of hospitals under the exclusive care of female physicians of the very highest qualifications. Women who enter the career of physicians must be able to compete with men. Their training and knowledge must be such as no rival can bring into discredit.

A new leader of reform has lately appeared in India, in the person of a learned young Brahmin widow, Rama Bhai, whose eloquence holds great audiences spell-bound in Bombay and Poonah and other important cities, as she dwells on the education of females, the remarriage of widows, the folly of the

caste system, and the evils of child marriages. Since the Ganges began to roll, no such figure as Rama Bhai has been reflected in its waters !

Japan, however, has gone further of her own impulse in the direction of education for woman than any other Asiatic country, and the reform has there the patronage of the highest persons in the court. The Empress of Japan, who is childless, is making herself the patroness of female education. Most of the great missionary bodies are opening vigorous schools for young women.

Consider how vast Asia is, and how populous with brothers and sisters, and little children, as innocent and sunny-eyed as your own. Imagine yourselves moving along the Asiatic coast from Arabia to Japan, and entering the crowded sea-ports, at the mouths of the giant rivers. After five lectures in four consecutive days, under a vertical sun and to great assemblies, in the rustling paradise of Ceylon, I left that island on the last day of March, less than a year ago, and soon found myself in the mighty port of Singapore, near the Equator. Blue Sumatra lay in the distance; Borneo, with its pagan tribes and its birds of paradise, was not far away. British fleets were there, almost a squadron of powerful vessels, laden with the products of the East Indies. A similar sight met me in the majestic harbor of Hong-kong. British power is visible in half the outlooks on any coast of the globe, in the ocean highways in the Eastern hemisphere. And so, pausing at Canton and giving there a lecture, I drifted, after nearly a month's voyage, into Japan — an idyl of Nature seen in the idyl-

lic season of May. There was much, of course, to give cheerfulness ; much to awaken encouraging thought as to the future of Asiatic reform ; but as I coasted along Ceylon, and the Malay peninsula, and vast China, day after day, I seemed to hear across the roar of the waves the turbulent sound of the billows of humanity, breaking with a wail on the stern coasts of our yet barbaric days. Three hundred million human billows in China, half of them women ; two hundred and fifty million such billows in India, multitudes upon multitudes coming out of the unseen and storming across the ocean of time to break on the shores of eternity ! The sound of that sea was a wail from servile labor, and from the loftiest capabilities of souls, dwarfed by ignorance and false faiths, and from infanticide, polygamy, concubinage, enforced widowhood, and many a nameless condition preventing the development of woman into the angelic being she is by nature, even without education. I heard the wail of these waves until I found myself resolved, whatever else I might do or might not do, to echo the sound of that ocean in the ears of Christendom, until, if God should permit, some adequate enthusiasm for the reform of woman's condition in the Orient is awakened in the Occident. Every city of 50,000 inhabitants in America and Europe ought to send one female missionary into pagan lands.

Put female education in Japan into the hands of Almighty God, and under his guidance the reform in that empire may become the day-star of the amelioration of woman's condition throughout the millions of Asia. The wail of the billows of humanity in In-

dia, in Ceylon, in the Malay peninsula, in Asia at large, especially in China, in the East Indies, in the Fiji Islands, and even in the Dark Continent, may one day turn into a shout of rejoicing. Provided only that the Occident does its duty, this transition may be swift. But if the wail goes on for a century or two more, I believe it will sound in our ears at the Judgment Day. We have power to send medical missionaries to these populations; we have power to send both secular and sacred education to women throughout Asia. He who knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is a sin. Let this stern truth sound in the ears of sensitive women! Let it sound in the ears of strong men! Let it fill the whole atmosphere of Occidental Christendom, until we are aroused to make God's opinion our own as to what should be done for women in Asia, Africa, and all the isles of the sea!

GLIMPSES OF THE CANTONESE.

CANTON, *April 15.*

CANTON is approached from Hong-kong by river steamboats through ninety miles of bold and beautiful Chinese scenery. Sailing northward from near the equator, it was exceedingly delightful to find April like itself, after having found January like July. The cool northeast winds were blowing from the mountains above Hong-kong harbor, and the vernal sun flashing over its mixed azure and amber as we moved briskly across it and into the magnificent breadth of the Canton River toward the north. Bold hills against the horizon; green rice lands next the stream; flocks of brown and gray Chinese junks basked in the windy sunshine. On many hills we saw pagodas. Several of these towers had shrubs and small trees growing on their ruinous summits. This was the China of my dreams, although the decayed aspect of these religious structures was a surprise.

The hills recede farther from the shore, the wet rice-fields broaden, islands appear now and then in the stream, and finally, far toward the north, two spires and several towers, rising from a long strip of low huddled houses against the sky, are pointed out to us as Canton. We are soon abreast of the centre

of this far from spectacular municipality, and find it looking like several square miles of the outskirts of New York, or of the wooden suburbs of Chicago. The houses are rarely more than one story high, and, at a distance, as well as near at hand, not a little uncouth, poverty-stricken, and barbaric. Boats dart to and fro on the river. Whole families live in small craft not twenty feet long. Junks of ancient fashion are mingled with those of more modern shape. Several vessels of considerable size are decorated with flowers, and we learn that they are devoted to infamous purposes. There are no carriages in Canton, no horses, no bullocks on the streets, and even no hand carriages in general use.

As soon as we arrive we are assailed by the bearers of sedan chairs, and our captain has already recommended to us a guide who goes before us in a special chair. A man weighing more than two hundred and fifty pounds usually has four coolies, who groan a little as they adjust their bare, lemon-colored shoulders to the poles and straps. We are soon in the midst of a maze of narrow lanes from six to ten feet wide, and fronted on every hand by the multiplex shops of the ingenious and industrious Chinese.

Workers in tin and brass, and iron and wood, ply their trades almost within touch, as we are borne along through the crowds in the resounding alleys. Here are markets with dried fish and strange fruits, shops exposing tempting arrays of jewelry, precious stones, especially the Chinese jade, book-shops, tailors' establishments, music stores, collections of curios, and every now and then a pagan temple. We feel

ourselves in the midst of a human hive filled with the busiest kind of bees, going in and out, each laden with some form of honey or wax. The cells are narrow; the passages generally are crowded; there is a universal hum.

No city I have ever visited resembles Canton, though there are streets in Venice nearly as narrow and as crowded with shops as these. Take hoofs and wheels out of a city, and passageways need not be broad and may easily be kept clean, as they are here. Odors of sandal-wood fill the air in various places which we pass. There are certain strange smells in the poorest quarters. These are often offensive; but, on the whole, the better parts of Canton are remarkably tidy for quarters so constantly overcrowded.

Gay banners hang in front of the shops, and bear in Chinese characters the often grandiloquent names of the establishments. As the eye becomes accustomed to the dim whirl of novelties and begins to notice details, the plan of the shops is seen to be simple and convenient. The wide fronts are left open for light. The buildings are usually of one story, with lofty tile saddle roofs. In these there are frequently large openings, which admit a flood of light and fresh air to the interior. The shops are deep, and run back into various recesses, of which a few glimpses obtained give the observer a desire to see more, they are so neat, comfortable, and often elegant in appearance. A counter usually stands to the right as you enter. A row of seats on the left, at the bottom of the first room, forms another counter. Not far from the rear counter there is a religious shrine,

at which, at night, a lamp is kept burning. Often there is a gallery, with ornamental balustrade under the tall roof.

Received most cordially by those who are devoting their lives to the religious regeneration of China, our social duties and one or two public appearances take much time, but we managed to study very carefully, and with the best of personal assistance, the Temple of the Five Hundred Genii, of the Five Genii, and of the combined Buddhist, Taoist, and Confucian worship, called the Temple of Horrors, as also the water clock, military headquarters, and the great Examination Hall. Perhaps the most sumptuous architecture and costly apartments we saw in any buildings were in the Mercantile Club Rooms. These are unmixedly Chinese in design; but, except the ugly and loathsome dragons, they were not unpleasing to our western and perhaps rather relaxed standards of taste. The heavy black wood furniture, the canoe-shaped roofs, the sacred mottoes in gilt letters on red ground, the paintings of storks and flowers, all seemed to justify themselves by their merits.

In the hall of Five Hundred Genii, rude busts of distinguished men stand in long rows. Incense is burned before them. The heads are all of Chinese type, round and somewhat lacking in height. It would be tedious to describe in detail the uncouth images in the temples, or the worship, if such it could be called, which we saw people offering before them. The Chinese suppliant shakes a set of bamboo sticks in a box as one might rattle arrows in a quiver until one drops out. On this is a certain number which

he carries to an official in the temple, who finds in a large collection of written prayers another number corresponding to it. This prayer the suppliant takes to some soothsayer or fortune teller and has it interpreted. If the wishes of the worshiper are not met by the interpretation, he often goes back to the box and shakes out another prayer, and repeats this process until he obtains the answer he desires. Thus the pagan petition to an idol is, "My will, not thine, be done."

The Examination Hall interested us as one of the chief doorways to the Chinese aristocracy. Twelve hundred students can be shut up here, each in his brick cell, about five feet deep by four wide and seven high. Each is expected to write in a given time, without assistance, a valuable essay on some text of the Chinese classics or other assigned theme. Out of some 1,000 who entered at the last examination, only 120 passed successfully.

The last meal I took in China was with a distinguished native, who had founded a Christian college and was a millionaire. He had bird's-nest soup for breakfast, each cup of which cost five dollars, and each guest had two cups. His house was palatial in its appointments. He was a man of vigor as well as of refinement, of large quantity as well as of excellent quality; speaking English brokenly, but a prince in his manners. China contains a large number of persons of that type. I once heard General Grant affirm that the three ablest men he saw abroad were Bismarck, Gladstone, and Li Hung Chang, prime minister of China. I found China close at hand

looking as if she might be able ultimately to insist on the keeping of treaties with even domineering Britain and haughty America.

The Chinese are the most interesting objects in China. In a gnarled oak the roughnesses and protuberances are naturally noticed earlier than the sound, strong timber at the heart of the tree. In the British character, for example, pugnacity, self-assertion, egotism, force themselves early on the attention of the observer; but he who studies the Englishman thoroughly will find sound timber underlying a somewhat forbidding exterior growth. So with the Chinaman, one sees his faults more readily than his virtues. The general failures in a nation's effort, century after century, to attain the highest well-being are indicative of the average defects in the character of its citizens. China makes progress up to a certain point, and there pauses and petrifies in egotistic, unimaginative conservatism. Industrial arts have flourished in China, but have never attained there the highest efflorescence and fruitfulness. The Chinese brain is fine-grained, but not large. It is fairly symmetrical, but is rarely massive. On the average it lacks height. The Chinaman is ingenious, patient, mild; but in the loftier departments of imaginative and religious activities of soul he is often prosaic and second rate. The chief faults of the Chinese character are unprogressiveness, self-satisfaction, narrowness of intellect, and thorough-going secularity. The chief virtues are filial piety, mildness of temper, perseverance, ingenuity, and worldly shrewdness.

China has educated in the Occident so many

young men who are now rising to positions of influence in the Celestial Empire that she very soon will have leaders who will understand and defend her rights under Christian international law and be able to protect her citizens from injustice at home and abroad.

When Constantinople and Bombay, Calcutta and Shanghai shall once be connected by railways, it will be possible to make a tour of the world in six weeks. A fortnight will cover the distance from San Francisco to London ; a fortnight that from London to Yokohama ; a fortnight that from Yokohama to San Francisco. China will ultimately be traversed by great and prosperous railways. Offers to open iron roads are even now being pressed upon the government at Pekin by various competing European syndicates.

V.

JAPAN, THE SELF-REFORMED HERMIT
NATION.

WITH A PRELUDE ON

FOREIGN CRITICISM OF AMERICA.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-FIRST LECTURE IN THE
BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN
TREMONT TEMPLE, MARCH 14, 1883.

“Every four years there springs from the vote created by the whole people a President over the United States. I think the world offers no finer spectacle than this ; it offers no higher dignity. If there be on earth and amongst men any divine right to govern, surely it rests with a ruler so chosen, and so appointed.”—JOHN BRIGHT.

“Almost all travelers are struck by the fact that every American is in some sense both a patriot and a person of cultivated intelligence. No such wide diffusion of the ideas, tastes, and sentiments of educated minds has ever been seen elsewhere, or ever conceived of as attainable. Yet this is nothing to what we might look for under a government equally democratic in its unexclusiveness, but better organized under a graduated suffrage, assigning to education as such the degree of superior influence due to it.” “Political life is indeed in America a most valuable school, but it is a school from which the ablest teachers are excluded, the first minds in the country being as effectually shut out from the national representation and from public functions generally as if they were under a formal disqualification.”
—JOHN STUART MILL.

“The educational system of Japan is the best in the world.”—GENERAL GRANT.

“Whoever would see the Eastern World before it turns into a Western World must make his visit soon.”—DANIEL WEBSTER:
The Landing at Plymouth.

PRELUDE V.

FOREIGN CRITICISM OF AMERICA.

AVERAGE Britons reverence pedigree ; average Americans, performance : the highest Britons, ancestry ; the highest Americans, achievement.

There are two Britains and two Americas — a tory and a republican England, as there was once an oligarchic American government under the slave power and a republican government in opposition to it. In our Civil War very few in England understood that there were two Norths and two Souths. There are an Americanized England and an Anglicized America, but the former enlarges its boundaries more rapidly than the latter.

The tory England of the privileged classes and certain sides of American fashionable society sympathize closely with each other, as do republican England and our most progressive American reformers. Nevertheless, as Charles Sumner's experience, first as an extremely ardent admirer, and finally as a most vehement and searching critic of England, shows, even the best classes of the Anglo-American world often most seriously misunderstand each other in great matters, in spite of the speed and fullness of intercommunication between England and America in our brisk day.

It is a little amazing to open an English historian like McCarthy and read that during our Civil War those who endeavored to show that it was not easy to find a convenient dividing line for two confederations on the North American Continent were commonly answered that the Mississippi formed exactly a suitable boundary. It was an article of faith with some Englishmen who then most eagerly discussed secession that the Mississippi flowed east and west and separated neatly the seceding states from the states of the North. [Laughter.] This was the wisdom of a certain portion of London club life. (See "History of Our Own Times," by McCarthy, vol. ii. chap. xliv.) John Bright used to say, during the hot contest against slavery, that every morning the leading newspapers of London went into the streets of Europe to curse the American Republic. It was a liberal British politician who declared that the Republican bubble had burst. Lord Russell spoke of our war as a contest in which the North was striving for empire and the South for independence. Mr. Gladstone himself once said that Jefferson Davis had made an army, a navy, and a nation. There were three Englands during our Civil War — that of the operative and middle classes, usually for us; that of society in London and the shop-keeping class, dependent on society, usually against us; and then the government, strictly so called, which never took formal ground in favor of the South, but seemed at several times on the very point of doing so. The densest ignorance was found not with the operatives, who in Lancashire endured a cotton famine, rather than as-

sist in breaking the blockade of the Southern States ; not with the middle class, represented by a John Bright or a Stuart Mill ; but with the haughty fastidiousness of London luxurious circles ; and even with the “ Thunderer,” which, whenever it spoke on American affairs, was commonly a blunderer. [Laughter.] The British government itself was often exceedingly in need of information ; for instance, when President Lincoln issued the emancipation proclamation, the only official reply made by England to that great act of our nation was that it could not be made clear to British common-sense why we emancipated the slaves in precisely those States where we had no power to carry out the proclamation, and did not emancipate them in the States of which we already had military possession. [Laughter.] That was one of the sapient remarks of Earl Russell himself. Two English noblemen were once standing before Michael Angelo’s statue of Moses, which was intended for the tomb of Julius II., and one of them asked : “ Why should Julius II. be represented with horns ? ” The other replied : “ They were a peculiarity of the Sforza family.” No less a man than Keshub Chunder Sen, as we one day launched our small steam-vessel on the Ganges, turned to his American guest and asked : “ Have you any rivers in America as large as this ? ” [Laughter.] I might have told him that it is a fact of physical geography that the seven largest rivers of Asia — the Oby, the Amoor, the Hoangho, the Yangtse-kiang, the Yenesei, the Indus, and the Ganges — taken together, do not carry to the ocean as much water as the Amazon alone. Fearful of falling un-

der suspicion of exaggeration, I was silent ; for I remembered that Mr. Spurgeon once showed me in his study two pamphlet cases with the peculiar titles : "Bull on Bragging" and "Jonathan on Exaggeration." [Laughter.]

In discussing foreign criticisms of the United States, my object is not to annoy either our critics or ourselves ; but to strike, if possible, a fair balance between the ignorant and the wise criticisms and between justifiable and unjustifiable self-estimation. Notice, first, a few points in the list of not very ignorant, unfavorable criticisms of America by foreigners.

1. Our newspaper press is deeply colored by our national and local peculiarities, good and bad ; but as yet more thoroughly by the latter than the former. Nevertheless, although it nowhere represents adequately our best traits, we are justly proud of it, on account of the merit of its upper portion. There is, however, a long tail to the kite of American journalism, and a considerable portion of it is bedraggled by the gutters. I have no patience with third and fourth-rate American journalism ; nor with our people for having patience with it. I am proud of first and often of second-rate American journalism ; but I am ashamed of our people for not giving our best newspapers as good a support as they give to fifth-rate and sometimes to seventh-rate effort in the newspaper world. Allow me to say that I hope I do not lack appreciation for our best newspapers. They pay more for news than the British newspapers do. *American first-class newspapers seem to me to be su-*

perior to the British in the discovery of news, while the British are superior to the Americans in the discussion of it.

It is most interesting to compare the journalism of the outskirts and edges of the British Empire with that of the frontiers of the American Union. I confess I am somewhat humiliated by being obliged to admit that I think the British Empire throws the blood of its heart out into its finger-tips more thoroughly than we do the blood of the best parts of our civilization into the finger-tips of our frontiers. The newspapers of Australia are better than those of our Pacific slope. Look at this superb daily journal from Sydney, in New South Wales, Australia, the "Herald" [unfolding a paper before the audience], and which is called the "Times" of the Southern Hemisphere. The moment you take it in your hand you feel that here is a very different stock of paper from that which usually goes into even our best American sheets. You can carry that newspaper around the world, and unfold it every other day, without its becoming a rag; but there are many first-class American newspapers which you cannot use three days without finding them drop to pieces, of such poor quality is the paper. San Francisco publishes no paper equal to the Sydney "Herald" or the Melbourne "Argus," both of them provincial sheets in the British Empire. The mere unprinted paper of the Sydney "Morning Herald" costs two-pence half-penny, and the paper is sold for two-pence — that is, four cents — the income being derived largely from advertisements. You observe that this

paper does not display its advertisements ; they are all set solidly, an indication that space is worth something in this sheet. But our very best dailies, with the exception of about three in New York and two in Chicago, are full of garishly displayed advertisements ; and what shall I say of journals in other parts of the country ? It is a sign of wide circulation in a journal to have compact advertising columns, without great loss of space occupied by screaming type.

Our dailies are improving rapidly ; perhaps those of Chicago even more rapidly than those of New York. It does not become me to criticise the Boston press, for the best representatives of which I have great reverence. I wish exceedingly that the best of our newspapers were patronized ten times as well as they are. They deserve an immensely larger following than they have. I am obliged to notice, as I travel across the continent, that the wings of Boston dailies tire beyond the Hudson. Very few of them fly to Chicago. We have disadvantages here, because the ocean is on one side of us ; we can send a daily only one way. New York has much the same disadvantage, in spite of the complexity of our railway system and her superior facilities for gathering news. Chicago has physically great advantages for the purposes of a daily newspaper, as it can send one four ways. That city is likely to be the newspaper centre of the country.


You say British newspapers are dull, and many of them are. But the best of them are not dull to men of thought and action. They grapple with dif-

ficult subjects ; they always furnish a leader or two on the most intricate and complex matters of public interest. Our journalism, I fear, is open to criticism for running into scrappy discussions, that catch the eye of the multitude, but do not really fix the attention of educated readers. Our dailies are not as ready as the best parts of the English press are to discuss difficult themes every morning, three hundred days of the year. On the other hand, our newspapers are probably more entertaining than the English. It will not do to speak of English journalism as all of it dull, because there is a class in society that finds mere scrappiness dull and thorough discussions in leading articles interesting. Let short paragraphs, as compact and incisive as sonnets, be made numerous on the editorial pages. They need, nevertheless, to be accompanied by leading articles containing a wider sweep of information and argument, and themselves as compact as sonnets, in spite of length. It is said that such articles are not read ? Let them be on the most strategic and blazing of current themes, and the more thorough they are the more certain are they to command attention by rewarding it. There is room in America for a great improvement of our discussion of the news which we gather at such enormous cost. Why is it that our newspaper editors do not oftener remember the remark of the present editor of the "Tribune," that the day is coming when the position of a first-class editor will be more influential in the United States than that of a member of the Cabinet at Washington ?

It is often said by our foreign critics that we are

governed by newspapers ; but my reply usually has been : " No, not by newspapers, but by news, which is a very different thing." The glory of our press is that it is willing to expend enormously for news. Its chief fault is that it does not discuss this news with as much thoroughness as the English would do, with the serious purpose of leading public sentiment.

Of course, it is to be admitted that the arrangement of our politics is such that newspaper political discussion is often not very effective. " In the United States," says Walter Bagehot in his admirable book on the English Constitution (p. 22), " the same difficulty oppresses the press which oppresses the legislature. It can do nothing. It cannot change the administration ; the executive was elected for such and such years, and for such and such years it lasts. People wonder that so literary a people as the Americans — a people who read more than any people who ever lived and who read so many newspapers — should have such bad newspapers. The papers are not so good as the English, because they have not the same motive to be good as the English papers. . . . The 'Times' has made many ministries. If a Washington paper could have turned out Mr. Lincoln there would have been good writing and fine argument in the Washington papers. But the Washington newspapers can no more remove a president during his term of place than the 'Times' can remove a lord mayor during his term of office. Nobody cares for a debate in Congress which comes to nothing, and no one reads long articles which have no influence on events. The Americans glance at the heads of news



and through the paper. They do not enter upon a discussion. They do not *think* of entering upon a discussion which would be useless."

Do political parties own newspapers? Do counting-rooms put ropes around the necks of editors? What the people want in a newspaper is not only news, but intellectual and moral leadership. The chief writers for our daily press are brave and scholarly men, but they seem to lack a large portion of characteristic American courage in their discussion of issues unpopular with great leading parties in both church and state. The press of Chicago criticises our Eastern press for timidity in presence of the foremost literary, political, and religious powers in society. The East values newspapers less and books more than the West does. The best parts of the Chicago press contain much that is raw and crude, and sometimes utterly vulgar. The leading sheets of that city are to be praised as yet chiefly for their vigor and enterprise. The quality of the journalism of Chicago is by no means equal to the quantity of it; but there is improvement in it, there is life, there is courage, and well there may be, on account of the geographical position of the city, which is the queen of our lake region and of the upper half of the Valley of the Mississippi. Sunday editions are an industrial and moral nuisance with which first-class English dailies almost never trouble their printers and editors and the public. Our critical weeklies, with one or two exceptions, the foreign critics sneer at mercilessly. It is amazing that with 53,000,000 of people here and less than 40,000,000 in Great Britain, she should

look in vain for a parallel among us of her "Spectator," or "Saturday Review," or "Athenæum." Her great quarterlies she thinks superior to ours in weight, as they certainly are in number; but I never found a Briton bigoted enough not to admit that our best illustrated monthlies surpass everything of their class produced abroad. It is safe to assert as a summary that there is much more room than is popularly supposed to exist for the improvement of both American and British journalism, through the imitation by each of the best traits of the other.

2. What is to be said of American manners from the point of view of our foreign critics? "Webster," said Thomas Carlyle, writing to Emerson, "is a dignified, perfectly bred man, though not English in breeding." ("Correspondence of Carlyle and Emerson," vol. i. p. 248.) Far be it from me to assume that American manners must be moulded exclusively by British or French or German or Italian ideals. We are the foremost Christian republic of all time, and soon to be the wealthiest, as we are already the most progressive, of the nations. We have a right to a standard of manners of our own; but we are most certainly open to criticism yet, as we were in the days of Charles Dickens's first visit, as to a number of large, avoidable mistakes in the field of manners. How shall I introduce the distasteful topic on which Dickens spoke so frankly, and which Mr. Emerson called "a fury of expectoration?" This is a most persistent, but let us hope not an incurable, American disease. There is not a cuspidor in the public rooms of the House of Commons, nor in the

hall where the members sit. I have been in many a great English hotel, in which I have looked in vain, outside the smoking-room, which I never visit, for one of those characteristic American utensils. [Laughter.] What would a senator from Congress do in Parliament? This disease of ours results partly from our climate, no doubt, which is drier than that of England. Miners and ploughboys in Australia fall into this American habit. The climate there, at least in the central portion of that continental island, is very dry. We have a reputation for excelling all civilized populations in coarseness in this matter. You would no more think of seeing in a first-class hotel in England or in the House of Commons or Lords, — whatever may be the case in the smoking-rooms on either side the main floor, — one of these utensils than you would think of seeing one in a church here. The fact that we can manage our churches properly shows that we could, if we would, manage other places properly. It is affirmed on the authority of official statistics that Russians and Britons consume annually only one pound of tobacco per individual, but that Americans consume three pounds, — that is, about six pounds per man, not per woman, thank Heaven! [Laughter and applause.] There is a certain lawlessness about our habits in regard to our use of the weed which our continent gave to the world that I have not seen elsewhere, unless it be in the ruder portions of Germany. Certainly in England well-dressed persons are more cautious about invading the rights of others through the use of this weed than they are here.

If a man smokes or chews tobacco, and you affirm that he has a right to do so, it by no means follows that he has a right to make me smoke by smoking in my face, or to offend a whole company of people in a railway carriage, or even on the street, by a display of his offensive habit. [Applause.] I am ashamed of the good-nature of Americans on this point. We ought, as Herbert Spencer told us, to be a little more ready to growl in the English fashion in regard to small but real invasions of propriety, and we shall be ready to do this, no doubt, as soon as our population is more dense and it begins to cost more to let infelicities run their course. We shall arrest them when it is necessary to do so. Every generation our ministry is taking a higher and higher position on the matter. There are a number of conferences of our powerful Methodist Church that will not now ordain a man who is an habitual user of tobacco. [Applause.] The greatest orator of Boston and of the United States I once heard say that he hoped the time would come when no gentleman would smoke on the public streets. [Applause.] For one, I echo that sentiment of Mr. Phillips, and I wish we might have a far sterner public sentiment on this matter, not merely among men but among ladies. If the gentler half of our population, the fastidious half, will assert its rights with a little bit of queenliness, men who have good habits will be immensely encouraged, and men who have bad will be made to feel the pressure of discouragement. [Applause.]

3. De Tocqueville thought that the bad management of our great cities will ruin us ultimately unless

we keep a large standing army to govern them. This sentiment is heard constantly among our foreign critics.

4. The corruption of our civil service is a theme on which it seems as if Von Holst, author of the most pessimistic European criticism of us written of late, must have been sent here to find ground for unfavorable opinions. I do not know that this author was subsidized by anybody in Germany to find out our faults and disgust Europe with American institutions, but if he had been, his employers would have had reason to be highly satisfied with the results of his work. Let us study Von Holst, although he gives an hundred pages to the political chicanery of a Martin Van Buren, and hardly half a dozen to the great constitutional arguments of Webster against the doctrines of the South as to nullification and secession.

5. Bondage to the uneducated, to illiterate voters or to the half-educated — this is the sternest of American woes, as our haughtiest foreign critics think. In view of the extent of our illiteracy, it is difficult to show that there is not yet in this country something like bondage to illiteracy. In spite of the merits of our common-school system, our illiteracy is so great that in many closely-contested elections we are literally under bondage to the uneducated or half-educated.

6. Sharp dealing and distrust Charles Dickens thought the worst vices of American commercial, political, and even social life. When Richard Grant White was on the tower of Windsor Castle one day

("England Without and Within," by Richard Grant White, p. 155), the old keeper there pressed certain attentions on him, which the musing traveler tried to shake off. "I beg your pardon," said the keeper, "but I think you must be an American gentleman. I should not have thought it if you had not been so suspicious. American gentlemen are always suspicious, . . . being so accustomed, you see, sir, to be taken in at home." [Laughter.] A more just or acute remark than this has not often been made concerning our characteristic American mental attitude.

Every man here is his own manager, every man his own protector. It is characteristic of our alert, pushing, fairly well-educated, shrewd American that the look of his eye is: "Cheat me if you can." [Laughter.] Far more often do you find this look here than abroad. It is a good thing, this self-reliance, if it do not degenerate into self-assertion. It is a good thing, this acute caution, if it do not become mere suspiciousness. It is charged against us that we are more shrewd than conscientious in the collisions of trade and politics. It is affirmed, and with some truth, I fear, that there is among Americans a tendency to sharp dealing in little things that is not found in British and German society. Undoubtedly there is rascality enough in the British Islands, and, indeed, more physical brutality than here; but many an American critic has admitted that there is less sharp dealing in small matters. In Great Britain everything centres in London, and if a rascal is found out anywhere in the islands, he is gazetted in the

great metropolis ; while here you may know in one city that a man is a rascal, but not be able to proclaim the fact easily in any one of a dozen cities to which that man may flee. There is opportunity to bring penalty on the dishonest man in Great Britain that there is not here. In a first visit abroad I twice found my American bankers falling into bankruptcy, and when I went abroad the last time I had an English banker ; that is, I depended on a house in London. It is very humiliating to be obliged to make these confessions ; but, for one, I have come home with the conviction that there is left yet some room for our improvement in the matter of honesty in little things. An American may be, and usually is, the soul of honor in great things ; but we allow an amount of sharp dealing in little things that would disgrace a man in many circles abroad. Do not say I have brought a railing accusation against the American character at large. We are more enterprising than any other people ; competition is fiercer here than anywhere else on earth ; there is vastly more opportunity to rise here than elsewhere, if one only has self-reliance and capacity. Temptation to sharp dealing is a great national allurements of ours, and should be resisted with all the sagacity and force of the American character.

7. We are accused of having a fickle temperament. Britons, it is said, bear a long and steady strain in commerce, in politics, and in war better than Americans. "We do not care to be troubled with this theme any further," we say very often of an important but wearisome public duty. "We are too busy

with our own affairs to attend to it. We have heard enough of it." "Let us not have this man's name in the newspapers any more." "Hush up the matter. What if we have not reached the truth concerning it as yet? We have no time to investigate it thoroughly. Let it drop." This comes partly from American overwork, from American haste, from the absorption of individuals in their own affairs, where all have a chance to rise; but I fear there is in our temperament a certain fickleness which proceeds from other causes.

It is most certain that the physical fibre of Americans is refined by our climate. The magnetic pole of the earth is in the forehead of this continent. The magnetic intensities of our latitudes are greater than those of similar parallels abroad. Our climate is drier, and for this and a multitude of other reasons we are developing something of the Greek temperament and the Italian. If you put Greek and Italian finesse with Anglo-Saxon daring, may God have mercy on the civilization that will be developed, unless Christianity purifies it! Give the American as much conscientiousness as he has will and finesse, and I regard him as incomparably the noblest human creature on earth. But there are many things that develop our will and our tendency to sharp dealing more rapidly than our conscientiousness. Our very temperament leads us, perhaps, into the Greek and Italian quality of fickleness.

Improved fineness of fibre may explain our superior capacities for art. We are undoubtedly developing in this matter far more rapidly than Britain

ever did, and are surpassing her through delicacy of touch. The dangers of our new temperament are numerous ; but its blessings are very great. American oratory depends on it to a large extent. We are more fluent than our British ancestors. It has been said that whoever is brought up in the electric climate of our country, under our Northern Lights, in our nearness to the magnetic pole of the world, under our common-school system and our opportunities for political advancement, is born with a speech in his mouth ; but if a Briton is born with a speech in his mouth, it is a speech with a stammer in it and a halt. Nevertheless, he utters very good sense usually, and there is in him capacity for a long pull and a strong pull. I have the feeling that the Briton is our superior in endurance, while we are his superior in the matter of incisiveness, insight, and swiftness in presence of any difficulty.

“The new times,” says Emerson (“Fortune of the Republic”), “need a new man, the complementary man, whom plainly this country must furnish. Freer swing his arms ; further pierce his eyes ; more forward and forthright his whole build and rig than the Englishman’s, who, we see, is much imprisoned in his backbone.”

8. We are criticised for having too little original literature. British and German literary circles have a mild mania for something in poetry and prose that is distinctively American. We are savagely criticised for saying “I guess,” where the Englishman says “I fancy.” It is enough to mark us in the eyes of certain critics as a nation of Philistines that we

“guess,” and “reckon,” and “calculate.” Britons, who forget that these phrases are never used by persons of thorough culture and careful habits of speech among us, are also very likely to forget how many millions of Englishmen have trouble with the letter *h*. The American vulgarism, after all, although its use is not to be defended for an instant, was once good Chaucerian English. Six times in as many pages of “Chaucer” I found this American phrase :

“ Her yellow hair was braided in a tress,
And fell adown her back, a full yard long, *I guess.*”

Our American colonies, founded just after Shakespeare's time, brought his English to America, and our long colonial isolation fixed it in our usage, while British English has been Johnsonized and thereby not improved. American English to this day is more nearly Shakespearean than British English.

9. We are criticised for lack of participation in the affairs of the Old World. We are said to have no sympathy with the struggles of weak nations outside America. Following the advice of Washington to keep out of entangling foreign alliances, we have rarely, except once, in the case of Greek independence, expressed an opinion on affairs in the other hemisphere. We are sharply criticised for this by the best English and German philanthropists, and especially by those of France, for France has made it her glory to help weak nations.

10. We are criticised for overwork and the haste that makes waste. Every American, so Europe thinks, is born half an hour too late, and is trying all his life to make up lost time. This is Herbert Spen-

cer's criticism, and is one of the most just ever passed upon us.

To look, now, at a few points on which opinion is divided abroad, I will mention, first, protection, which the mass of Britons, of course, do not believe in. If you are ever annoyed in British society by the persistent presentation of the advantages of free trade, turn about upon your critic and say: "Free trade may be a very good thing; but do you believe in free trade in land?" [Laughter.] That question usually staggers a Briton like a cannon-ball amidships. Several of the great states of Australia do not believe in free trade just now, although 10,000 miles of ocean between England and Australia constitute protection for these colonies. Americans have the advantages of free trade between the various States of the Republic, and of moderate protection against the rest of the world. Opinion is divided as to the separation of church and state, but the most advanced of English reformers believe in the American ideal on that matter.

What are the favorable foreign criticisms on America? Is it admitted that on a few points we have indisputably acquired a certain superiority to Europe? In machinery we are confessedly superior. For nearly every purpose to which labor-saving machines are applied, American inventions lead the world. Our watchmakers dazzle the Swiss and English; our cutlery outsells the British, even in Sheffield. The London "Times" once said there was not a more amazing outburst of genius in old Greece in the matter of art than there has been in America

in the matter of machinery. It is confessed that our best engraving far surpasses the English. I heard one of the foremost publishers of Edinburgh, Mr. Nelson, whose name is held in honor on both sides the Atlantic, say he could find nobody in the British Islands to do for him such work as is issued every month in the "Century" and in "Harper's Magazine." Our railways, on the whole, are to be regarded as the best in the world, although Britons will be slow to adopt our system for their small islands. Where there must be great rivers of night travel flowing constantly, sleeping-coaches must be introduced; but there is very little night travel between even London and Edinburgh, and so there are only two or three railway lines that have sleeping-coaches in Great Britain. The compartment coach has advantages of its own in a mild climate like that of the British Islands. The American system of checking luggage is the best in the world.

Our best writers of monographs in science have the most unfeigned respect of the leaders of science in Europe. For example, take the recent essay of Professor Abbot, of Cambridge, on the Fourth Gospel; take certain publications of the Smithsonian Institution; take such scientific treatises as Professor Peirce used to issue in astronomy; take the very best of our work in regard to electric lighting, and it is confessed that we are not surpassed even in the most advanced circles of science abroad. Our common-school system, on the whole, is greatly admired, though probably it is not superior to that of Prussia, nor to that which England and Scotland will soon

have. The aspiration of our masses, the temperance reform, the absence of a law of primogeniture and of a hereditary house of legislation, our just land laws, our high wages, — are all eulogized abroad.

The best way to decide how much truth there is in foreign criticisms of America is to notice what your own secret thoughts are as you return to your country after a long absence. As I crossed the continent lately I kept a blank book open before me, in which I entered on the right hand pages what I admired in American civilization, and on the left what I disliked. A very singular and suggestive manuscript thus came into existence. The lists which I have now given of unfavorable and favorable criticisms made by foreigners are almost precisely what my criticisms were as I came back to my native land.

America has ceased to be excessively sensitive to European criticism, or even to British. The poet Tennyson said to an American Northern gentleman, in a London parlor, during our civil war: "I wish you to understand, sir, that my sympathies and those of society here are on the side of the South." "I wish you to understand, sir," the American replied, "that we of the Northern States do not care where your sympathies lie. We expect to fight this war out on our own plan, for our own good and that of the human race." Tennyson treated his acquaintance with increased respect after this speech. America is of age. Nevertheless, in Occident, as in Orient, the worth of international criticism increases with its intelligence so rapidly in our day that the

wisdom of Robert Burns deserves cosmopolitan application : —

“O, wad some power the giftie gie us
To see ourselves as ithers see us ;
It wad from mony a blunder free us,
And foolish notion.”

LECTURE V.

JAPAN, THE SELF-REFORMED HERMIT NATION.

PHYSICAL May in Japan is endlessly beautiful ; but her spiritual springtime is yet more fascinating, although it has not reached May yet, but is in early April. How swift and vast the change from her recent hermit January and February, and her stormy, revolutionary March ! Civilization in Japan puts forth buds of joyful promise. The spring brooks flash and foam where a little while ago the land was locked in the snows and ice of feudal politics and of traditional religious misbeliefs. The landscape is full of pleasant sights and sounds and odors. Now and then the song of birds fills the fresh air. It is good to be in Japan in the vernal season of the regeneration of an empire, and to have opportunity to cast a few seeds into the giant virgin furrows of reform, never before as promising as now in the Far East.

What is to be seen in the land of the Rising Sun ? A nation born in a day. What are the chief traits of its inhabitants ? Those which have made them a population of artists and reformers.

Approaching Japan from the west, over the misty and often turbulent Chinese Sea, you awake one bright spring morning and find yourself in the presence of the paradise of green, conical islands which

surround the harbor of Nagasaki. The celebrated missionary, Xavier, lived and labored on the island of Firando, not far to the north. You are soon sailing close under Pappenberg, the Tarpeian Rock of Japan, where, in 1638, hundreds of Japanese Christians, who had accepted Xavier's doctrine, were cast headlong upon the tusks of the reefs at the foot of the precipices and into the sea. The birds sing audibly, in spite of the throbbing and the clanking of your ship's engines. The pines seem to stand as solemn mourners at the summit of the cliff, and to gaze in perpetual sadness down the murderous crags. You repeat Milton's sonnet on the massacre of the Piedmontese, and cannot deny yourself the delight of anticipating the ultimate religious regeneration of Japan, as you recall the heroism of her early Christian martyrs, when as yet in the seventeenth century they had been taught only the corrupted faith of Rome.

The faces of many aged women and men whom I saw in Japan interested me exceedingly by their thoughtfulness, symmetry, gentleness, and a kind of patient force, not unaccompanied by a considerable spiritual elevation. If you wish to know the real traits of a people, study the faces of its men and women in their advanced years, before the strength of the body has begun to crumble, and when ripeness of the soul is at its best. I think the faces, especially the eyes, of virtuous people in advanced life among the Japanese, are more nearly civilized than those of any other population I saw in Asia. The eyes are sensitive and sober, penetrating, and usually consci-

entious, fairly forceful, and almost never arrogant or evasive. The children of a nation do not reveal its characteristic traits so thoroughly as its aged people, for their faces have not been chiseled by the experiences of life. One finds in the countenances of those who have fought the battle of their earthly careers the marks of both their natural and their acquired spiritual postures and activities. *The faces of its old men and women are the best map of any nation's capacity and actual life.*

The islands of Japan are best compared to those of Great Britain. They lie off the coast of Asia, much as those of Britain do off the coast of Europe, and are not far from the same size. There are four islands, however, in the Japanese group, that are of very considerable extent. The central and largest one is rather longer than Great Britain. From its extreme southern portion to its northernmost point its length is equal to the distance from New York to Chicago; from the tip of the lowermost of the four large islands to the tip of the uppermost, the distance is that from New York to Omaha, or from Edinburgh to Naples, in a straight line.

Passing through the Straits of Shimonoseki, any American or Briton ought to hang his head, for here, in gallant self-defense, a Japanese prince resisted the domineering entrance of English and American vessels into his waters; an act for which Japan was obliged — not merely by Englishmen, but by Americans — to pay a large indemnity. After any amount of intricate lobbying, it appears that a portion of this money, now amounting, with its interest,

to \$1,800,000, is likely to be paid back by our Congress; but a larger sum than goes to Japan is to be given to the officers and crew of the vessel that we thrust into that most unrighteous sea fight, or will be in other ways retained by us. The Shimonoseki indemnity was wrung from Japan by a process no better than robbery. Thank Heaven that we are doing a little to show that we revere justice! Great Britain has done nothing in the matter as yet.

The Inland Sea of Japan is a gleaming silver and azure plain, 200 miles long, surrounded by bold and picturesque hills of vivid green, and dotted with hundreds of islands of surpassing beauty in their forms, groupings, and verdure. The eye never wearies of the study of its terraces of waving wheat, its hill-sides clothed in thick green copse, and their summits crowned by the murmurous gnarled Japanese pines, outlined against a sky as soft as that of the Mediterranean. Plainly, this land has never been ground by glaciers. Whoever would grasp the controlling fact concerning Japanese landscape scenery must remember that the islands of Japan are volcanic in their origin, and that what we call the "drift" in geology has never been passed as a gigantic rasp over the conical hills thrown up by force of earthquakes and inner fires. Japan is part of a mighty submerged mountain-chain, extending from the Kurile Islands far southward, and lying on the edge of a great depression in the sea-bottom. There are twenty active volcanoes in Japan, and several more in the Kuriles. The chief peculiarity of Japanese scenery is that the hills have not been worn down by glacial action, and

so there are a certain sharpness, symmetry, and nameless grace in Japanese landscape views that I have not found in other parts of the world. The tops of the hills are frequently as sharp as they can be without land-slides. Often there is breadth on them for but one row of pines. When a delicate haze over-spreads the landscape, it causes the hills to appear higher than they are, and the trees on their tops to look unnaturally large. Japanese landscape-painting has been criticised for making trees too large for the hills on which they stand; but one glance at the characteristic scenery around the Inland Sea shows that what appears disproportioned in Japanese representations of landscape is really a close copying of Nature.

Early one morning you are looking anxiously toward the east for a first view of Fuji-Yama while it is wholly covered by dark gray and purple clouds, which become fleecy white a third of the way up the arch of the sky. Gradually, as the sun beats upon this vaporous eastern wall, it falls apart, and above it looks out something white and vast, with an outline that does not crumble in the sunlight. This is Fuji-Yama, the sacred mountain of Japan. You will never forget its glorious height, its saintly snows, its dazzling contrast with the azure behind it, nor the fleecy, multiplex vapors with which its breast is enswathed and its feet covered down to the very edge of the far-flashing sea across which you gaze toward the whole celestial vision. When, later, you turn northward into the Bay of Yeddo, you see nearly the whole outline of the mountain rising against

the sky, like an open inverted fan. Standing wholly alone, and having an altitude of over 14,000 feet, Fuji-Yama draws to itself from all Japan admiration and sometimes adoration. The natives really worship it as itself a god, and not merely as the Greeks revered Olympus as the dwelling-place of the gods. Fuji is said to have risen suddenly, in the third century before Christ, in a great earthquake, from the level of the sea. As its birth was portentous, it may well have originated devout awe among the inhabitants of the tottering island through whose crust it shot toward the sky.

You land at Yokohama, a beautiful city, partly on a sea-washed plain, partly on a bluff, and your chief anxiety, after twenty-seven days at sea, is to escape into the green fields as soon as possible. After an outline study of the city, you employ a mellow, sunny afternoon in a rural excursion, which turns out to be idyllic. I must show you the land and people before I show you their reforms, and I ask you now to look upon a landscape which certainly is not easily matched anywhere on the globe. You roll smoothly along in your man carriages, *jinnrikishas*, which are simply magnified children's carts, drawn by men — Pullman cars. You look abroad over the blessed, billowing grain, and remember the dearest country haunts with which you are familiar on the other side of the globe. Fuji gazes at you from the west. Mississippi Bay flashes from below you on the east. Here are the waters through which floated the ships of our American Commodore Perry, who was sent to Japan, in 1853, by Daniel Webster, the first of our

statesmen, to insist on the opening of Japan to Western commerce and the earliest circle of that typhoon of reform which has since swept over the empire. On this shore stood the natives, who thought Perry's steamers were imprisoned volcanoes. At the edge of these waters, in 1854, he set up a mile of telegraph wire, and had a locomotive put into action on an iron track. You pluck familiar flowers of the temperate zone in a walk through the green fields. Here are white clover and red, the violet, the dandelion, and the wild strawberry. The cherry blossoms, so prominent in Japanese art, are but a little past their prime, while the camelias and the azaleas, in the fullest blaze of their beauty, are drinking the mild sunbeams and the fresh sea-wind. At the foot of the bluff your jinrikishas roll through a picturesque village, and follow smooth roads back to Yokohama, through wonderfully verdant landscapes of rice-fields and pine-clad hills. Many of the slopes are covered with thickets of the most graceful bamboos, and now and then you see a somewhat chilled and undergrown palm. The wheat-fields rustle on the right and on the left. The pine-trees sing. The sunlight falls as a benediction on land and sea. You seem to hear a tremulous celestial music in the sky between Fuji and the great deep. Looking up, you find that your fancy has not misled you. Far above the green, solemn country, are floating in the sea-breeze Japanese kites, with Æolian attachments, raining down a concord of sweet sounds — now low, now loud, now apparently near, and now distant, but always mysteriously ravishing to the ear and soul. Poems have been written by

scores, in many languages, to express the mysterious meanings of the music of an *Æolian* harp; but of all positions in which this most pathetic and touching of musical instruments can be placed, the best is in the evening twilight and the fragrant winds of spring, far aloft between the sea-shore and the stars.

In spite of the fascinations of the theme, I have no time to pause on Japanese art further than to say that I believe that since the old Greeks there has been no nation that has had a larger spark of celestial genius in this matter than the Japanese. Already their art is coloring more or less many portions of Occidental art. Probably no one school in art has done more to acquire a cosmopolitan influence during the last thirty years than that of Japan. No people known to history has ever exhibited a more intense love of the beautiful in nature than the Japanese. The native encyclopædias are accustomed to point out the fine scenes of the noblest cities, lakes, and mountains. You bathe in Lake Biwa; and, opening a native description of that wonderful sheet of water, you find much mention made of its eight beauties. No Greek, Roman, German, or English eyes taught the Japanese to see beauty in nature. Its enchantment seems to have been a passion with them for ages. Carlyle says that descriptions of scenery were not common in European literature until after Goethe gave to the world the "*Sorrows of Werther*." But here are the eight beauties of Lake Biwa as described by the Japanese in their own books when as yet they were a hermit nation : —

"The Autumn moon from Ishiyama ;
 The Evening Snow on Hoia Yama ;
 The Blaze of Evening at Seta ;
 The Evening Bell of Mii-dera ;
 The Boats sailing back from Yabase ;
 A Bright Sky, with a Breeze, at Awadzu ;
 Rain by Night at Karasaki ;
 The Wild Geese alighting at Katada."

ERNEST M. SATOW, "Central and Northern Japan," p. 89.

You give twelve lectures in Japan ; six in English, and six through an interpreter. As you study your crowded native audiences in Yokohama, Tokio, Nagoya, Kobe, Osaka, Kioto, and Nagasaki, you gradually form definite conceptions of the peculiarities of the physical, mental, and moral temperament of the Japanese. Undoubtedly, they have the temptations to falsehood and sensuality which are peculiar to the most sensitive races. Aspiration, honor, industry, patience, and cheerfulness, however, are natural to the Japanese character, and need only to be crowned by thorough training in Christian conscientiousness to transform the native sensitiveness of organization into a blessing and make it consistent with the judicial type of mind. The Japanese have been called the French of the East. They seem to me to be more sober than the Gauls were, as Julius Cæsar found the latter, and more gifted in art, more aspiring, while not less generous, courteous, and brave. The Japanese are occasionally criticised for being physically small. I call them the diamond edition of humanity ; but they are marvelously well-formed, fine-grained, and compact in organization. A great physician told me that he measured the height of an

hundred as they came into his dispensary, and that the average was five feet two inches, which, I believe, exceeds the height of Isaac Watts or Napoleon Bonaparte.

The Japanese are exceedingly fine steel. The edge of the battle-axe in the Japanese soul, I think, is sharper by nature than in the Briton, or in the German, or in the American. There is not as much weight in the axe. There is not so much length of helve. This is the power of the German, the Briton, and the American, that, even with a dull edge, there are such size and weight in the axe and such length in the helve that the edge cuts its way through this rough world. The Japanese is the more delicate structure; sharper, but, perhaps, without as much weight in the metal. Nevertheless, there is still great weight behind the helve, as in the Saxon or in the Frenchman, great smoothness in the helve and toughness. In ordinary affairs the Japanese will do better without education than the Briton or the American. They are a people of an ancient civilization; they show the marks of it in their faces. The quality of steel is so good that a little education sharpens them immensely. They improve faster under a given amount of training than the German peasantry, or the British, or the average American. This is saying very much; but I respect immensely the fibre of the Japanese steel, the form of the axe, and its achievement in cutting down the mighty tree of feudalism, and in beginning to cut down the still mightier tree of paganism in the Japanese Empire.

What were the principal causes of the reform of Japan?

1. The rivalry of the emperor and his chief general, the former called the Mikado and living at Kioto, and the latter the Shogun and living in the city now called Tokio and exercising really imperial power.

2. The opposition of Japanese scholars, and especially those of the school of the Prince of Mito, to this dual government and to the usurpations of the Shogun. This prince was born in 1622 and died in 1700, and is regarded as the real author of the movement which culminated in the revolution of 1868.

3. The fall of Peking, the accession of the Tartars, and the overthrow of the Ming dynasty in China, and the dispersion of many refugee Chinese scholars throughout Japan.

4. The oppressiveness and corruptions of the feudal system, of which the Shogun was the head.

5. The influence of Western secular civilization on Japan after her gates were opened by the American Commodore Perry, in 1853, and by subsequent British and other European intercourse.

Perry arrived opposite Yokohama July 7, 1853, and made a treaty there March 8, 1854. Webster and Everett did more than any other American statesmen for the opening of Japan. It ought to be of interest to citizens of New England that the very first official document ever written by an American concerning the opening of Japan was penned by Daniel Webster, when he was Secretary of State under Mr. Fillmore. Our own Edward Everett followed up the enterprise most vigorously. To-day, in the Bay of Yeddo, you have two islands named for these two Americans. No thoughtful citizen of our

republic can pass these spots without thanking God that the genius of these statesmen unlocked one of the rustiest gates of the Far East.

6. The introduction of Christianity into Japan at various periods from the time of Xavier until that of the self-supporting Japanese churches of the present day.

7. The native aspiration of the Japanese.

In this list of causes which have led to the reform of Japan, you will notice that I have not put into the foreground foreign influence. Japan was reformed from within. (See Griffis, "The Mikado's Empire," especially chap. xxviii.) Foreign influence was more the occasion than the cause of her entrance upon a new political, educational, and religious career. It ought to be remembered constantly that the dual government of Japan, under what were called the spiritual and the temporal emperors, never had the cordial support of the best scholars of the empire. The Prince of Mito secured the publication of a history of Japan in more than two hundred volumes, but containing not much more matter than Bancroft's "History of the United States." It became a classic and educated the best circles of the Japanese into opposition to the usurping Shogun at Tokio. Little by little patriotic public sentiment was aroused. As the Shogun was the head of the feudal system, I suppose his power would have been overthrown with violence, even if foreigners had not opened the ports of Japan. It is sometimes said by British writers that the bombardment of one or two Japanese towns introduced the empire to a new career, and that cannon-balls and

powder and British bravery are to be credited with all the impulses that set in motion the recent great reforms. The truth is that without any bombardment of Kagoshima, or Shimonoseki, or any other place that has been approached by Britons or Americans in our capacity of pirates, the Japanese feudal system would have been overthrown. The head of it certainly would have been cut off, for before Perry landed public sentiment was ripening for the overthrow of the Shogun. The head of the feudal system once removed, it was easy to bury the body. It is true that feudalism was put down after the country was opened to foreigners; but the best judges, both foreign and native, are of opinion that it would have been put down without any incitement from abroad.

There is a very suggestive parallel between the dispersion of the Greek scholars through Europe after the fall of Constantinople, and the dispersion of the Chinese scholars through Japan after the fall of Peking. The downfall of the great city of the Bosphorus was the beginning of a new period of culture for all Western Europe, and so the downfall of Peking was the beginning of entirely new impulses in Japan.

Notice that feudalism in Japan was very oppressive, very corrupt. Great nobles spent their days in debauchery. They had, indeed, some military ability; they were proud of their reputation with their fellows, and were accustomed to commit suicide at the slightest infraction of their personal honor. Harikari, in Japan, was abolished only of late; but these men, in spite of their bravery and their honor, were often

exceedingly tyrannical and utterly debauched, and lived on taxes wrung from a comparatively virtuous peasantry.

The chief influence, after all, in the reform of Japan came from the native excellence of the Japanese character. If the head of the Chinaman is turned toward the past, that of the Japanese is turned toward the future. The most beautiful trait of the Japanese is aspiration or willingness to adopt improvements, and to better them on every opportunity.

What is the extent of the reformation in Japan?

1. It is represented in outline by the celebrated charter oath of the emperor taken in 1868, and faithfully kept to this hour.

“A deliberative assembly shall be formed. All measures shall be decided by public opinion. The uncivilized customs of former times shall be broken through. The impartiality and justice displayed in the workings of nature shall be adopted as a basis of action. Intellect and learning shall be sought for throughout the world, in order to establish the foundations of the empire.”

Think of such a proclamation as that issued by an Asiatic prince whose family antedates the Roman Empire! The Mikado claims to be the one hundred and twenty-third of his race in succession from an emperor whose date is about 660 B. C. It is affirmed that the dynasty of Japan is the oldest known to history. This document is the real basis of the new government. The Emperor promises the organization in 1890 of a national parliament, based on representative institutions. When the Emperor took the

oath, he was only sixteen years of age. Its words were put into his mouth by the real leaders of the revolution — Okubo, Kido, Iwakura, Sanjo, and other rising officials, many of whom had received important impulses toward reform by what they learned of the Occident in studying in missionary schools. These men were almost all business managers, factors, and retainers of the territorial nobles.

2. A large measure of freedom of the press is guaranteed, and newspapers are numerous and influential.

3. The feudal system is overthrown. An hereditary nobility, with at least 600,000 retainers, is disarmed. The rule of the Shogun is ended. The Mikado has supreme power.

4. The army, navy, and post-office system have been reorganized on the best western models.

5. A university has been opened at Tokio, common-school education made compulsory, and seventy per cent. of the children of school age brought under instruction. Schools for female education are efficiently patronized by the Empress and the nobility.

6. Practical ownership of the land has been taken from a few privileged classes, and given into the hands of the people. The Emperor retains a title in the soil; but the peasants can buy and sell leases of it for long periods.

7. Most of the restrictions as to the admission of foreigners to the empire have been abolished.

8. The preaching of Christianity and the growth of self-supporting Christian churches and schools are generally tolerated.

9. The sending of embassies to the Western na-

tions, beginning with the visit of Iwakura Tomomi and his associate ministers to the United States, in 1872, and so making the circuit of the world, has inspired Japanese statesmen with Western ideals, and brought the empire into friendly relations with Occidental powers.

10. Native authors, teachers, politicians, and reformers, exhibit prodigious activity in executing the common purpose of regenerating Japan, by the adoption of the best portions of the civilization of Europe and America.

There is no quarter of Japan so obscure or distant as to have failed to hear not merely the rumble, but the thunder of the wheels of progress. The empire of Japan has risen from the low plane of feudalism to its present height of civilization almost as rapidly as its sacred mountain Fuji-san is said to have risen from the level of the sea — in a single night.

These political changes are the background of the picture of the advance that Christianity is making in Japan. Only a very few years ago the inland towns of the empire could not be approached by preachers of Christianity, except in a private way. The best educated classes of the people are now more eager to hear the relations of Christianity to the future of their civilization discussed than to listen to political harangues, and they are living in a conflagration of enthusiasm concerning political reform. I have given question-box lectures in Japan, and have been much struck by the juxtaposition of political and religious inquiries on the same sheet of paper. For instance, these four, which I remember, were given to me at

Kioto by a young professor: "Ought there to be a property qualification for the franchise? What is the true definition of inspiration? Should there be an upper house in our legislative assemblies? How do you reconcile fate and free will?"

It is a significant sign of the times in Japan that large assemblies will listen patiently and applaudingly to denunciations of Reformed Buddhism. On one occasion, in the city of Kioto, before an audience crowding the largest available hall, I was requested to occupy two hours in discussing the relations of Christianity to the future of the Japanese Empire. The request came from certain members of the legislative assembly of the city. It was understood that the interpreter, the eloquent young professor, Ichihara, would occupy as much time as the speaker. The result was that we occupied together three hours and forty-five minutes, and discussed with entire frankness not merely the inherited misbeliefs of the Japanese, but especially their imported unbelief. The latter, for the educated classes in Japan, is a greater danger at present, probably, than the former. Nevertheless, the severest things I could say against Reformed Buddhism and Shintoism and European and American infidelity were received patiently and ap-
plausively by an audience quite as willing to express dissent as assent. For saying the same things in that city ten years previously, we should probably have lost our lives.

Buddhism in Japan is making a vigorous effort to reinstate itself in the affections of the people. Many new temples are in course of erection by the Reformed

Buddhists. Old temples are often repaired, at great expense. The men who understand Japan best, however, think that this is only a spasm of a dying creature.

The Reformed Buddhistic doctrine differs greatly from the Buddhism taught in the Himalaya Mountains and in Western China. I had an instructive conversation with the foremost Buddhist priest of Kioto, and was at the time in company with one of the most learned of the missionaries of that city, and we found that by *Nirvana* this priest does not mean at all the cessation of personal existence, and, of course, not of consciousness. To the Reformed Buddhists of Japan, *Nirvana* means the Western Heaven, and it differs not much from the average idea of paradise. The question as to the meaning of *Nirvana* is a difficult one, because the answer to it depends upon geography and dates. At certain periods of its existence Buddhism has been understood to mean by *Nirvana* absolute extinction of individuality and consciousness. But with the masses of the Reformed Buddhists of Japan, the anticipation in regard to the future is not annihilation, but sometimes very like the outlook of the uninstructed Roman Catholic peasant. Max Müller, when appealed to by two of the missionaries of the Reformed Buddhism of Japan to say whether their doctrines agreed with those of Gautama, the Buddha, replied, frankly : " No. You Reformed Buddhists have added a large number of doctrines to pure Buddhism. Some of the additions are most mischievous, and some of them are approximations to Christianity. You have no thorough-going

right to call yourselves orthodox followers of the founder of Buddhism. Your doctrines are not to be discovered in the earliest Buddhistic literature." I quoted this statement of Max Müller to this distinguished Buddhistic priest, and asked him what reply he had to make. His only answer was, that in the forests of the Himalayas and in the sacred temples of Thibet there are many Buddhistic sacred books of which Max Müller and the scholars of the Occident know nothing at all.

American missionaries, especially the learned and eloquent Dr. Verheck, who may almost be called the founder of the University of Tokio, have had an important influence in educating several young men in Japan, who have become prominent as leaders of the reformed party in the government. It is to be remembered that Commodore Perry opened the doors of Japan when she was a hermit. America has probably as much moral influence on Japan at this moment as any other Western nation, and this because we were the first people to establish important relations with her, as soon as the opening of her ports commenced; and because American missionaries are more numerous in proportion to the population than those of any other nation; but especially because America is not suspected of having any political motives for her operations in the Far East. Although Great Britain controls India, on one side of Japan, and Australasia, on the other, it is, in my judgment, probable that America exercises a larger moral influence in the Japanese Empire at this moment than Great Britain.

The use of the Roman alphabet in printing Japanese words is a reform which seems now certain of success in Japan, and will enable the student to learn as much in two years as he formerly did in ten.

No other set of missionaries has carried its system of self-support in native churches as far as those of the American Board. I am not inclined to criticise the policy of the Board in requiring native churches to support themselves as far as possible; this system has the hearty respect of the Japanese; but I think the system has been pushed by this Board in the Far East quite as far as the present condition of the native churches will warrant. There is a native church in Osaka which lately sent back funds to the American Board, stating that it was quite equal to the test of self-support. There are a dozen other native churches that are wholly self-supporting. The ideal of the young Japanese Christians under the leadership of the American Board is that they must soon support themselves and be entirely free from dependence upon this country, not merely for money, but for teachers, both religious and secular. The Japanese are a spirited people, very quick to perceive the obligations of honor, and a Japanese Christian is yet a Japanese in these particulars.

The career of Mr. Neesima, of Kioto, has been quite as remarkable in Japan as it was in this country. His history is a romance. In studying geography, in his early youth, he learned that the Western nations had been made great by their use of the Bible. He was moved to make inquiries as to this book; but found no satisfaction for his curiosity, and finally he

ran away from his father's house, drifted to Shanghai, and there obtained passage in a ship which took him eventually to America. The vessel was one of Hon. Alpheus Hardy's, and, when the captain reached Boston, he took Mr. Neesima to this distinguished merchant, and said: "Here is a young man who wishes to know something of Christianity. I thought you might be able to tell him something important on that matter." The boy was fortunate in falling into a circle in which Christianity is not merely a creed, but a life. His benefactor sent him to Phillips Academy, at Andover, afterward to Amherst College, and then to the Andover Theological Seminary. President Seelye, when asked by the American Board to describe Mr. Neesima's career in college, answered: "You ask me to gild gold." Mr. Neesima went home to Japan possessed of the zeal of an apostle. He is now at the head of an educational institution at Kioto which is likely to grow into a university. At present its chief business is to teach young men Christianity and the outlines of the Occidental sciences; but it is Mr. Neesima's earnest desire to add to the school a fully equipped theological, medical, and legal department. His whole soul is in the work of regenerating the educational life of Japan, and at the same time promoting the growth there of the most vital forms of Christianity. The work of Mr. Neesima in Japan is perhaps exactly paralleled by that of no other young man there; and, nevertheless, there are several Japanese teachers who have received a thorough education in this country and are exerting an influence greatly similar to his. The

pastor of the self-supporting church at Osaka, Mr. Samayama, was educated at Evanston, Illinois, and is revered by his congregation and wide circles of acquaintances as one of the fathers of the modern Japanese Church.

It must be confessed that some young Japanese, who in this country have united with our churches, have not led consistent Christian lives after they returned ; but I heard of no case of a Japanese that has received in this country a thorough theological education who has failed to stand up unflinchingly for his faith in his native land. It is an interesting point to notice that Japanese students sent to Europe very rarely return Christians, while a large number who are sent to America return convinced that Christianity should be the religion of the Far East. This difference is probably owing to the readiness with which Japanese students here are received into the better circles of society, and the great difficulty and frequent impossibility of obtaining any entrance to what calls itself society in Europe.

It is most cheerful news that the Empress of Japan, who is childless, has made herself the patroness of female education. The Methodist bodies among the missionaries of Japan deserve high honor for their zeal in advancing this great cause. The city of Nagasaki, one of the most beautiful in Japan, exhibits to the traveler who approaches it no building of equal prominence or dignity with the Female Seminary which has just been founded by the Methodist mission. One of the finest mission buildings in the Far East is occupied by the female school of the Methodists in Tokio. Other denominations are doing much

in the same direction ; but probably the Methodists lead in this reform, which has incalculably important relations to the whole topic of the regeneration of Asia. There are admirable female schools conducted under the auspices of the American Board. Dr. Hepburn, of the Presbyterian Board, is well known as the great scholar of the Japanese missions. He is the author of the standard Japanese-English dictionary, and is often appealed to most confidently by the embassies of various nationalities to decide questions of interpretation arising between foreign governments and the Japanese Empire. All the Protestant missionary bodies in Japan are doing superb service, and are really united in spirit. I was greatly impressed by the union of sentiment among missionaries, not only in Japan but in China and in India. Soldiers who are face to face with the enemy must close up their ranks. The conflict with paganism brings out in the vanguard of the churches the hidden half of Christian unity.

Let me now answer the question : What dangers are yet before Japan as a reformed country ?

1. The too speedy introduction of representative institutions.

2. The growth of party spirit under political rivalry, and enlarged freedom of public discussion.

3. Imported heresies in political economy, such as socialism and nihilism.

4. A large public debt, burdensome taxation, and threats of bankruptcy.

5. The death-struggle of reformed Buddhism, Shintoism, and other native hereditary misbeliefs.

6. Imported unbelief.

Japan needs to know the difference between the cream of the Occident and its driftwood and scum. Several teachers from the West have assured Japan that Christianity is waning in power in the Occident. Nihilism, socialism, agnosticism, positive atheism float into Japan on the waves of our literature. Japan will soon be too well educated to be misled as to the real sources of the greatness of England, Germany, and America. I hold in my hand at this moment the catalogue of the stock in trade of the chief Japanese book-shop in Tokio, and I ask any one who doubts my assertion to look into it for proof that there is in that one establishment as good a collection of English books as you will find in almost any book-shop in the Occident. I hold in my hand the examination papers of the Japanese University. They are as searching as those of Harvard or Yale, or Oxford or Cambridge, the classics only excepted.

After Iyeyasu, one of the greatest of Japanese heroes, had won the battle of Sekigahara, he sat down and tied on his helmet, and said: "After victory tighten the cords of your armor." His wisdom is peculiarly necessary to Japan at the present hour of her great transitional period. Let her study the West until she learns that it is Christianity that has made the foremost of Occidental nations free, intelligent, powerful, and progressive. Only a scholarly and aggressive Christianity can guarantee the prosperity of the Japanese future. Her inherited misbeliefs, which cannot endure the light of real research, Japan is vigorously casting off. God grant that the Land of the Rising Sun may speedily cease to be the land of bats!

VI.

AUSTRALIA, THE PACIFIC OCEAN, AND INTERNATIONAL REFORM.

WITH A PRELUDE ON

INTERNATIONAL DUTIES OF CHRISTENDOM.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SECOND LECTURE IN THE
BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP, DELIVERED IN
TREMONT TEMPLE, MARCH 26, 1883.

“Throb on, strong pulse of thunder! beat
From answering beach to beach:
Fuse nations in thy kindly heat
And melt the chains of each.

“For lo! the fall of Ocean’s Wall,
Space mocked and time outrun;
And round the world the thought of all
Is as the thought of one.”

WHITTIER: *Cable Hymn.*

“Our helm is given up to a better guidance than our own; the course of events is quite too strong for any helmsman, and our little wherry is taken in tow by the ship of the Great Admiral which knows the way and has the force to draw men and states and planets to their good.” — EMERSON: *The Fortune of the Republic.*

“There is no topic so pregnant as this of the mutual influence of the branches of the English race. The whole future of the planet depends upon it.” — PROFESSOR SEELEY: *Expansion of England.*

“The evening-colored apple-trees
Are faint with July’s frosty breath;
And at the turning of the year,
When August wanders in the cold,
The raiment of the nursling here
Is rich with green and glad with gold.”

KENDALL: *Moss on a Wall.*

PRELUDE VI.

INTERNATIONAL DUTIES OF CHRISTENDOM.

As, in the individual, an inner regeneration must precede any thorough outward reformation, so, in the whole world, which is made up of individuals, we must look to religion as the basis of secular reform. Nothing less stern than this is fit to be preached in the name of science or revelation. [Applause.]

1. The growth of Christianity is already so great that it is responsible for the maintenance not only of national, but also of international, morality.

2. But international morality cannot be maintained without leading to the reformation of international law.

Such has been the marvelous growth of the Christian nations in our century that in the last eighty-three years Christianity has gained more adherents than in the previous eighteen centuries. In the first 1,500 years of the history of Christianity it gained 100,000,000 adherents; in the next 300 years, 100,000,000 more; but in the last 100 years it has gained 210,000,000 more. These are facts of colossal significance, and they cannot be dwelt on too graphically or too often. By adherents of Christianity I mean nominal Christians — that is, all who are not Pagans, Mohammedans, or Jews. At the present

rate of progress, it is supposed that there will be 1,200,000,000 of nominal Christians in the world in the year 2,000. (Dr. Daniel Dorchester, "The Problem of Religious Progress.")

Not reformation only, but regeneration, is the demand of Christianity, of every individual, every people, and the whole unified family of the world's nations. As with the poet or the orator, it is not the inspired word that gives the inspired mood, but the inspired mood which gives the inspired word; so it is regeneration of the world that is to bring about its reformation, and not its reformation its regeneration. It is religion that is to be the basis of all really hopeful and permanent secular reform, and not secular reform that is to bring in by and by a perfect religion. My conviction is profound that the preaching of the Gospel must go before any pervasive self-supporting success of great philanthropies, even in pagan nations, and that we must look for the world's regeneration in a large part before we can expect its reformation throughout any very wide and untroubled portion of its now vexed, fickle, and degraded populations. The perfection of civilization will not be reached until the world, as a whole, learns the strange new wisdom which is not the cause, but the result, of total and affectionate self-surrender to God.

When once a royal procession was passing a bridge across the Spree, in the city of Berlin, Julius Müller, then a young man, fell into that river and was in peril of death. He yielded to God utterly as he sank in the waves; he gave up his soul completely to his Father, his Saviour, his Lord; and the bliss of that

surrender, the inner fruitfulness of it, the strange, new, unexpected power and peace which came from it were his inspiration throughout all his subsequent devout and learned career. He found that yielding to God utterly gives an inner sense of God, just as, on a lower plane, the poet or the orator finds that yielding utterly to the inner impulse of conscience gives an intellectual power, a moral insight, a capacity of expression, a freshness, an incisiveness of phrase entirely unobtainable by mere will or by any method of intellectual prudence. Yield to the winds of the uppermost heavens, if you would produce any divine effect through speech.

Take the most advanced of present nations, and how near are they to having the inner wisdom of self-surrender to God? Do they possess any considerable amount of the genius that comes from harmony with the divine laws of the human spirit and of the development of history at large? Only that inner wisdom and that genius can give us the utmost human progress. The principal periods of vital reform in history have come from really slight touches of this wisdom in a few circles or individuals; but to see whole nations moved by it and the world melodiously loyal to it would be to witness the fulfillment of a prayer which is universal and yet to be answered, that God's will may be done on earth as in heaven.

3. The united Christian sentiment of the globe has power to seize by the throat and break the neck of any unjust international movement.

4. As the slave-trade, piracy, and other international evils have been wholly or nearly abolished, so

all the abuses that remain in the conduct of nations toward each other must be reformed.

5. It must be proclaimed unflinchingly that even commerce is not to stand in the way of righteous judgment in the affairs of nations. [Applause.]

Why did Great Britain recently make war with Egypt? Because of commercial reasons. There was likelihood that Egypt would run away with the funds that were needed to pay certain European creditors, and so England and France declared war. John Bright resigned his position in a proud English cabinet simply because he felt that commerce in England's relations to Egypt had throttled moral law, and because he believed that the moral law should throttle every unjust thing in commerce. [Applause.] The time is coming when not merely statesmen of the most eminent rank will be ready to speak sternly to any unscrupulous leaders of commerce; the press also, and perhaps, by and by, the parlor and then the pulpit, will acquire a similar courage. Our brave men in pulpits have usually done their duty; but occasionally they need to be encouraged to far franker attacks than they usually make upon the vices of the respectable portions of Christendom. [Applause.] It will not be greed and selfish desire for commercial aggrandizement that will ultimately control the international relations of the globe. Merchants did not govern the American republic when once the evil of slavery was vividly seen by the churches. Money is mighty, but not almighty.

6. It is chiefly, to-day, the inertness, the greed, and occasionally the moral unscrupulousness of nom-

inal Christians, under temptation of gain, which maintain the worst international abuses of the world.

Make the nominal Christians real ones, and the principal evils of our time will vanish out of it, as the snow-drifts disappear under the vernal heat. As slavery was abolished, so a multitude of abuses yet notorious in the international relations of populations called Christian would disappear were once nominal Christians made aggressive ones.

7. Commerce itself, in spite of its selfishness, and even on account of it, may become a chief support of international reform.

8. *Communication between nations is becoming so swift and pervasive that it must lead to contact among nations, and contact to conference, and conference to concert, and concert to coöperation, and coöperation to virtual moral confederation.*

What is wanted is not a union of Christian or even of Protestant or English-speaking nations ; but an alliance consistent at once with self-government in the different nations, and with a cosmopolitan and Christian internationalism in their concerted action.

Not proposing the formal political confederation of Christendom, but its close moral alliance, part with part, throughout the whole earth, I defend a number of definite measures that would secure, if carried, what scholars have been asking for these fifty years, — universal peace, justice in the relations of strong nations with weak, and a general advance of Christian principle throughout all the departments of international law.

Let me name twelve measures required by international morality : —

1. Arbitration in place of war, in every case to which it can be applied ; and treaties including agreements to use arbitration before resorting to war.

Mr. Bright, in 1849, supported Mr. Cobden when the latter presented a petition of 200,000 names to Parliament asking that arbitration be made a remedy for war in every case to which it is applicable. The petition was not granted ; its supporters were regarded as fanatics. Some of the greatest philanthropists of Europe put themselves on Mr. Cobden's side, Victor Hugo among them ; and so, little by little, the ear of the world was obtained. In 1873 the House of Commons passed a resolution praying the Queen to put a provision making arbitration a remedy for war into every treaty she should make with foreign nations. The lords never passed that measure. Our own House of Representatives, in 1874, passed a similar resolution. This last winter a distinguished Massachusetts senator, whom may God bless, introduced that resolution once more, and it will not always sleep, even in our upper house. Our martyred President Garfield announced that arbitration was the settled policy of his administration. He wished to bring together all the nations of this continent, and to enter into a treaty with them to make arbitration a remedy for war in every case to which it is applicable. Commerce was asleep ; Commerce was counting its dollars in its tills ; Commerce was bending over its muck-rake and forgetting the glorious rewards of philanthropy which are far-flashing crowns in history long after individual or even national wealth is forgotten. Little Peru, in South America, called for

a convention to make arbitration the rule of this hemisphere. It is only of late that we have begun to appreciate our interests in South America as merchants. Britain is in advance of us commercially in that part of the world so far from her, so near to us. It was for our interest to hold this convention ; but we were far too busy to attend to the matter, even when Garfield proposed it. What we want is that not merely among English-speaking nations, but throughout the whole globe, it should become the practice to make arbitration an international system, and thus a remedy for all wars to which arbitration can be applied. [Applause.] I am not a defender of the principle of non-resistance. There are wars that are just ; but, as Mr. Bright is reported to have said, no war since the time of William III. has been thoroughly justifiable, except that of the Northern States for the abolition of slavery and the preservation of our Union. [Applause.]

2. The complete abolition of the slave-trade on the sea.

You say that we have abolished it. Not we. Great Britain has put forth herculean efforts to abolish the slave-trade, and is yet engaged in that majestic business. Between Africa and Persia the slave-trade is vigorous yet. In the Indian Ocean slave-traders are constantly watched by British men-of-war. America ought to help in that chase. [Applause.] She is too penurious to do so. Commerce holds her back. Why should she attend to this matter ? Here again we must take the Church by the hand a little earnestly, and Commerce also, and

awaken both to the prompt performance of this international duty. Great Britain is really carrying out her antislavery principles better than we are. She has at this time many men engaged in suppressing the slave-trade. She has called on us for assistance, and some other nations are helping her; but, in spite of our general agreement in our present opinions about maritime rights, and our pride in having abolished slavery, we are yet behind the British Empire in this matter.

The time will come when Christianity will demand that we should put an end to the slave-trade on the land. David Livingstone wished to have this policy adopted even in his time. The horrors of the internal slave-trade in Africa are at this moment unspeakable. Personal contact with them, such as a Stanley or a Livingstone has had, shows that Africa, even in our time, is a shield with streams of blood running down to its edges. Along the slave-trails that lead to the eastern and northern ports of Africa, murders and other atrocities occur so frequently that it is no exaggeration, but literal fact, to say that the trails are blood-stained. They are marked by the bones of thousands who have fallen on them. The slaves who are shipped off in Moorish and Arabic vessels from the coasts of Africa are far more numerous than you dream; and yet America sits here in her Bostons, her New Yorks, her Chicagos, and thinks herself enlightened and advanced and philanthropic, while Great Britain, mighty as she is, finds herself unable to repress this trade.

3. The wider protection of the rights of neutrals in all wars.

4. Common laws as to copyrights and patents.

We steal more books from England than she does from us ; but she steals more patents from us than we do from her, and I would put the two abuses together and reform them.

5. Postal union facilities of all kinds.

6. International bills of exchange.

7. The extension of international law to the Orient, Africa, and all the weakest nations.

8. Mixed courts, made up in part of judges from one nation and in part of judges from another, for the trial of international offenses by individuals.

In China and Japan there are mixed courts now ; but they are full of abuses which it is the office of international morality to reform.

9. An international police.

10. A scholarly codification of international law as far as it now exists in a positive form, and the adoption of a brief summary code by the advanced nations.

Of course no nation could be held responsible to such a code until it should have adopted it for itself. Let the eight principal powers of the Occident — England, Germany, Austria, Russia, Italy, France, Spain, and the United States — adopt such a code, and it would make its own way, ultimately, through the world. Forty-six nations have agreed to define maritime rights in certain ways ; sixteen nations are united now in a postal union.

11. A high court of arbitration in case of disputes between two nations.

12. An annual conference of nations, with a view to facilitate intercourse, prevent abuses, and secure international peace.

When the Panama Canal is cut, why should the United States and England not guarantee its military neutrality? All wars should be kept out of it and the Suez Canal, and out of the seas near either end of each. The interests of neutrals in modern European wars have become so important that the great powers have often guaranteed the military neutrality of Belgium, the Rhine, and Switzerland. In Australia I heard statesmen saying that after the Panama Canal is cut, the time will come when Cobden's doctrine will look practical—that the great highways of commerce on the chief oceans should have their neutrality guaranteed by the leading powers of Christendom.

The time is coming when to the English-speaking nations of the world and the self-reformed hermit nations of Asia, the Pacific Ocean will be only what the Mediterranean was to the Roman Empire.

Napoleon Bonaparte, speaking at St. Helena of the Peace of Amiens, said: "I had a project for general peace by drawing all the powers to an immense reduction of their standing armies. And then, perhaps, as intelligence became universally diffused, one might be permitted to dream of the application to the great European family of an institution like the American Congress, or that of the Amphictyon in Greece, and then what a perspective before us of greatness, of happiness, of prosperity; what a grand and magnificent spectacle!"

Immanuel Kant, in 1795, proposed, in the interests of universal peace, a plan of international action consisting of these details: (1.) No state to be merged

in another by exchange, or gift, or force. (2.) Ultimate abolition of standing armies. (3.) No state debts with reference to external politics. (4.) No state to interfere by force in the affairs of another. (5.) Every state to have a republican constitution, or one in which all the citizens share in making laws and deciding on questions of peace and war. (6.) International law to be based on a confederation of free states. (7.) A citizenship of the world limited to the notion of the free access of all men to and their residence in any state upon the earth's surface. (8.) An international conference at stated intervals. (See Kant's works, ed. Leipzig, 1838, pp. 411-466.)

Bentham, in 1789, advocated a similar plan. He was willing that a fixed contingent should be furnished by the several states for the purpose of enforcing the decrees of an international court; but he thought that public opinion and the progress of a free press would prevent the necessity of such an extreme measure.

David Dudley Field, of New York, has written the most searching and suggestive volume yet published on a proposed International Code. In case of the disagreement of any two nations, parties to an adopted code, he would have them seek a settlement through the advice of a Joint High Commission, of their own appointment. If its advice is not taken, he would have a High Tribunal of Arbitration appointed to give a final decision. His suggestions as to how this tribunal should be chosen are drawn up with great sagacity, and yet, no doubt, would need to

be modified by experience. On the supreme matter of infractions of the rule of loyalty to the adopted code, his proposal is: "If any party hereto shall begin a war in violation of the provisions of this code for the preservation of peace, the other parties bind themselves to resist the offending nation by force." (Field's "International Code," second edition, 1876, p. 371.)

International reform, you say, is a mere kite flown in the winds of philanthropic discussion, and is useful only as a toy. Your Sumner was accustomed to fly it, however, and so was your Longfellow:—

"Down the dark future, through long generations,
War's echoing sounds grow fainter and then cease;
And, like a bell with solemn, sweet vibrations,
I hear once more the voice of Christ say: 'Peace.'"

LONGFELLOW: *The Arsenal at Springfield.*

Charles Sumner, through his whole career, was a defender of the principles on which scholars are endeavoring to build universal peace. He believed in war, indeed, such as our Northern States fought to abolish slavery and maintain the Union; but his aim was to spread the white robe of peace around the whole earth. This same kite has been flown by John Bright, by Cobden, by Immanuel Kant, by Bentham, by President Woolsey, by David Dudley Field. When the suspension bridge was built at Niagara, the first thing done was to send a boy's kite over the chasm. That kite carried a silken cord across the roaring abysses beneath it; and that cord drew after it wires, and the wires cables, and the cables a bridge which now bears the thunder of

traffic between two empires. Just so this thought of a league of advanced populations ; this idea that it is the duty of Christendom to maintain international morality, and thus to lay the basis for reform of positive international law ; this scheme of an Anglo-American alliance ; this theory that it is possible and desirable to bring all enlightened nations together in a cosmopolitan moral confederation, may be a kite flown in the winds of discussion ; but if you fly it often enough and long enough on both sides of the Atlantic and Pacific, and both north and south of the Equator, it may ultimately carry over the roaring abysses of international prejudice a silken cord of Christian amity ; and that cord may draw after it wires and cables, and by and by a bridge, which will bear the weight of the heaviest international reforms, and uphold at last, please God, the feet of the White Christ Himself, as He walks into the dawn of the millennial day. [Applause.]

LECTURE VI.

AUSTRALIA, THE PACIFIC OCEAN, AND INTERNATIONAL REFORM.

ONE morning in the Chinese Sea you wake to find yourself opposite the mouth of the Yang Tse Kiang River, which has but three superiors in point of length in the whole world,—the Nile, the Mississippi, and the Amazon. Two hundred miles from the coast this giant stream colors the ocean yellow. As you stand on your ship's deck, on one edge of the river at its mouth, and look with a glass across its flashing amber and gold in the sunrise, you cannot see the opposite shore. It flows through the most populous river valley of the globe. Ocean steamers ascend it to a point seven hundred miles from its mouth. It is the commercial highway of China. In the multitudinousness of the human lives connected with its banks, it far surpasses at present the Amazon, the Nile, or even the Mississippi. You land at Shanghai, and give a course of lectures there,—a city in a level plain, stately mercantile palaces, British, French, German, American, fronting the curve of the small but crowded river that flows through it. The highest hill in the city or vicinity is said to be the swelling arch of a certain bridge over this stream, so completely flat is the whole country in this portion of China.

From Shanghai you drift down the gray and green and yellow coast to Foochow, in order to catch a tea ship to Australia. On the Min River you find yourself in a mountainous region, sublimer than the Danube flows through anywhere except at the Iron Gates. You pass your last night in Asia in a stately mansion on the shore of a river more beautiful than the Rhine, and in a chamber with an outlook superior in most physical respects to that from the castle at Heidelberg. The city of Foochow is the port of a vast tea region; and it is from that portion of the Asiatic coast that you take your departure into the Tropics.

Your last view of Asia you obtain as you lose sight of the bold scenery on the river near Foochow. A loud thunderstorm is lashing the barley terraces, the tea plantations, the pine forests, and the grand, templed hills, as you lift up your right hand and say, "May God hasten the regeneration of Asia!" and so, with a tumult of emotion, both of sadness and of hope, you turn your face, probably forever, from the most thickly peopled continent of the world.

Three hundred miles of steaming sea, heavy clouds, and incessant tropical showers; then a zone of calms, comparatively clear sky, and little rain; then a second long stretch of steaming sea, low, black clouds, and numberless vigorous showers—such is the order of your experience in crossing the mystic line which separates the northern from the southern half of our wheeling globe. Your decks are drenched at sunrise by an unusually heavy downpour, in which the rain seems to fall in sheets and streams, rather than in

drops. This clears up the sweltering heavens, and soon you shoot into a completely quiet ocean, and move on for several days under a most peaceful, azure sky. The zone of calms, as Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner* says, is a terror only to sailing vessels, and these lie around you in stately torpor ; but the engines of your steamer rejoice in the quietude of the winds.

Day by day the sun rises and sinks, and the stars and the crescent moon come out with indescribable majesty and beauty. Twelve showers at one moment walk around the rim of the sky over the distant purple of the tropical ocean. The waves, especially near noon, are of a deep, crystalline blue, which you never saw surpassed in intensity of color even in the Mediterranean. About ten o'clock one Monday morning, the sun shining with vigor, but not fiercely, on a steel-gray and violet sea, in which no land is in sight, you are told by the ship's officers that you are crossing the Equator. There is no mark on sea or sky ; but there is nevertheless above you and beneath you a geographical reality, of which the effects are visible through all the zones. Here the trade-winds rise, and to this region they return. Here begins the mighty system of currents of air, flowing from the Equator to the Poles and back again. Your thoughts dart around the world on the track of the Equator ; hang above Borneo and Sumatra, the Indian Ocean, the great African lakes, the sources of the Nile, the Atlantic, the Amazon, the Andes, and look outward to the tropical lines of Cancer and Capricorn, and beyond them to the two silent, snow-capped Poles, and beyond these to Him

who upholds them. Here, first, as you dip into the Southern Hemisphere, and find the sun north of you at noon, you begin to feel the sphericity and the comparative insignificance of the size of our globe.

In a voyage across the central zone of the earth, it is in the nights that the chief sublimities of the tropics step forth. Ursa Major and the Southern Cross stand over against each other at equal heights, and converse with each other across the whole breadth of the world, and gaze on land and sea with looks of benediction, and on each other with harmonious interblending of light and movement, and upon infinite space around them, and upon the unspeakable Omnipresence in it, with an awe and worship which strike you dumb for many an hour. The Southern Pole is dark. There is no Southern Polar star visible to the naked eye. A large region around the Southern Pole is comparatively rayless. But at about the same distance from the Southern Polar point that Ursa Major lies from the Northern hangs the Southern Cross, a group four or five times as large as the Pleiades, and containing one star of the first magnitude, two of the second, and one of the third. The largest star is at the foot of the Cross, the next largest at the top, and the two point to the Southern Pole. Above the Cross five stars, two of them of the first magnitude, form a canopy as if of an archangel's hand, brooding above the sacred symbol. In the two dark places which resemble key-holes in the sky, and which sailors call the *coal-sacks*, you seem to be looking into regions to which is reserved the blackness of darkness forever. The Magellanic clouds

appear like detached portions of the Milky Way. The lesser cloud has been found to contain 200 single stars, 37 nebulae, and 7 star clusters. In the larger cloud there have been counted 582 single stars, 291 nebulae, and 46 sun clusters. The scale of the universe slowly reveals itself to you in many nights of solitude at sea. The apparent distance between the large and the small star which lie so close to each other at the bend of the handle of the Great Dipper is five hundred times what the whole breadth of the earth's orbit would appear to be if seen from the nearest fixed star.

“The fires that arch this dusky dot,
Yon myriad worlded way,
The vast sun-clusters' gathered blaze,
World-isles in lonely skies,
Whole heavens within themselves, amaze
Our brief humanities.”

TENNYSON.

You glide smoothly through the East Indian Archipelago; you see the black, naked natives among their straw huts and under the cocoanut palms on shore. All along the sandy beaches, the heavy timber, filled with a tropical tangle of vine and mosses, almost dips into the leaping waves. Uncouth canoes ply among the coral reefs. You see the groves in which are to be found the orang-outang and the birds of paradise.

Australia at last rises from beneath the Southern Sea. It is a gray, windy June morning; and the temperature and clouds of a northern November come whistling up from the ice-fields of the South Pole. You sit in your ocean-chair, in your ulster, and write

with a stiff hand in the frosty air. Bold, blue mountains, with many purple bays and green-wooded headlands, form the coast on which you look across five or seven miles of angry, foaming, autumnal sea.

As you write at the foot of the mast, the blue sky begins to smile above the brown and purple shores. The sociable gulls flock above the wake of your ship. The stormy petrels skim the wrinkled waves. Now and then shoals of porpoises shoot with easy grace from the green, huge, watery hills and slide down them, half revealed and half concealed among the azure currents and silver foam-bells.

God willing, an Anglo-American alliance will yet encircle the world! You are in Australia partly for the purpose of studying what the prospects are for the moral federation of the English-speaking population of the globe.

Happy valleys, like that of Rasselas, lie under the cool sunlight as you gaze westward on Australia from your ship, which coasts southward now, along gigantic coral reefs. Forests of gray gum-trees, which shed their outer bark, but not their foliage, rustle in the fastnesses, where yet roam the emu and the kangaroo. The silver shafts of the mellow afternoon suns fall in benediction on hedgeless pastures and bleating flocks. Pleiades hangs over the Northern Sydney head as your ship, at five o'clock on the morning of your nineteenth day from Foochow, turns into the famous Sydney Bay, a harbor of whose beauty you have read much, but which exceeds, as does the noble and proud young city on its shores, your high expectations.

What are the organizing dates of Australian history? 1606, the island discovered by the Dutch; 1770, East Coast discovered by Captain Cook; 1788, Sydney founded; 1837, Melbourne founded; 1851, gold discovered in Victoria; 1853, transportation of convicts to Australia forbidden. Around these six points crystallize Australian years thus far.

It has pleased Almighty Providence to bring into existence in Australia the most brilliant group of cities in the Southern Hemisphere. Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide, are incomparably the most important municipalities south of the Equator. Brazil, with its ten millions of people, has a larger population than Australia; but far more than half of them belong to a servile class, or to one which was lately in bondage. There is no slavery in Australia, thank God, and not likely to be. Although some abuses in the labor trade have occurred in the northern parts of Queensland, you see in the faces of your superb audiences at Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, and Brisbane, the thunderbolts that will ultimately put an end to the unrighteousness of the coolie traffic in Australia. You find in the three or four millions of its present population the pilgrim fathers and mothers of the future of Australasia. Here are as many people as the United States had when they broke off from the British Empire.

What is the attitude of this mass of human beings toward great questions of religion and politics? What are the promises and what the perils of the religious future of Australasia?

Among the promises, notice: —

1. The quantity of the prospective population — 100,000,000, at least. There is room in Australia and the islands near it for 200,000,000 of people. Look at the map and observe that Australia, although it could be buried in the United States, would leave very little extra space. Excluding Alaska, we have just over, while Australia has just under, 3,000,000 square miles of soil. The interior of Australia is by no means as nearly a desert as our older geographies led us to suppose. If you will dig artesian wells for your flocks, you can drive them from one end to the other of the continent, and support them all the while from the natural pasturage. One day you are conversing in the beautiful city of Adelaide with a Scottish gentleman, prominent in politics and education and a great holder of property in the interior of Australia. You mention to him the Australian desert. "Why," he says, "I am soon to send 3,000 cattle to the very country of which you are speaking, and they will stay there twelve months." With proper reservoirs for the rain and with artesian wells, the interior of Australia can be made vastly efficient in multiplying the wealth of the country in flocks and in herds. You remember, too, what gold mines are in Australia; and how, to this hour, the fear of exhausting them is a thing that belongs to the next century. Some are exhausted, or appear to be; but as you visit Ballarat and Sandhurst, you find the industrial attitude and sentiment among the miners and great speculators reminding you of some of the very best days of our Californian gold fever.

2. The quality of the population, — English and Scotch, and chiefly Protestant.

Thank Heaven that the Southern lands are not likely to be settled by Asiatics, but by the foremost Western peoples! No doubt there is a great future before Japan and China; but it is fortunate that Australia is not to be indebted to them for more than a fragment of its population. It is quality that makes nations great. The pioneers of Australian civilization are picked men. The vast breadth of ocean which separates this continental island from Great Britain and Europe acts as a protective tariff with regard to the things of character. It appalls drones. Second-rate men have rarely pluck enough to go across this breadth of sea.

3. Its inheritance of high ideals and approved institutions in education, politics, and church life.

4. Its achievement up to the present time in education, politics, and religion.

My conviction is strong that Australia is more thoroughly filled with the best influences of British civilization than our Pacific slope is with the best of American. Australia has herself done better things for her churches and her schools than our Pacific slope has yet done for its own.

5. The freedom of the population from precedent, and its inclination and opportunity to choose the newest and best fashions in everything.

6. Its broad suffrage, and the consequent political necessity that it should make education and religious training general.

7. Its separation of church and state, and the con-

sequent necessity that the churches should depend on self-help, and not on state help ; the unity, purity, and aggressiveness this necessity will foster.

8. Its close moral and educational, as well as political connection with England and Scotland.

9. Its distance from corrupting neighbors and the usual paths of wars.

10. Its prospective political confederation.

11. Its mobility of ranks in society, and the consequent aspiration of the masses for culture.

12. Its central position and immense opportunity for usefulness in Japan, China, and India.

You think it strange that intercolonial tariffs should be kept up between the Australasian colonies, and so do the best men of those colonies themselves. The presence of a little common danger — say the appearance of a couple of Russian privateers off the Australian coast — would precipitate the confederation of these rival provinces. They now tax each other. They are as proud of their separateness as in twenty-five or fifty years they may be of their union.

Each leading city expects to be the capital of the confederation. There are at least three cities that are prominent candidates for this position, — Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide ; and admirable cities they are, either of them worthy of being the capital of a great nation. Sydney, the first one you visit, — Sydney, with its hundred bays ; Sydney, possessed of the finest harbor in the Southern Hemisphere, unless it be that of Rio ; Sydney, which is a dream of beauty in its position by land and sea, — is a royal child, not

unworthy of its parentage in stalwart emigrant populations from England.

There was once a Botany Bay near Sydney ; but if you go to Australia and speak of the population there as being descended from convicts, your mouth is soon closed, not by a haughty reply without fact behind it, but by actual evidence. It is true that convict families have had successors in Australia ; but the whole system of the transportation of convicts became a gehenna. Australia herself was one of the foremost powers in that combination of forces which caused its abolition. Since 1853 this transportation has ceased, and that date now is a long way off.

The population has increased faster, in many portions of Australia, than in any part of our American Union during the last twenty years. The result is that the present atmosphere of society in Sydney reminds you of that of London. The present atmosphere of Adelaide reminds you of Edinburgh. Melbourne can receive no higher compliment from your present speaker than the assertion that she is the most like Boston of any city he has visited on a tour around the world. Melbourne is aggressive, incisive, almost breathless in her activity — the most American of all the Australian cities. Sydney would not like this praise of Melbourne, and Melbourne would not like my praise of Sydney ; and yet, after all, their rivalry is more good-humored banter than serious commercial collision. There are, no doubt, some important conflicts of interests between the two ; but they will drift, within fifty, or at most a hundred years, as I think, into the most peaceful confederation.

As one nation, Australians will feel that their responsibilities are continental. Australasia, first or last, will naturally draw into the circle of its political control most of the islands south of the Equator. Confederation will strengthen all the excellent tendencies of the country, and enhance the value of the inheritance and achievement of the population — its freedom, universal suffrage, high education, immense industrial opportunity, political and moral example, and separation of church and state.

In Australasia, as I believe, are to originate important forces facilitating reform throughout the East. From the centre of a population of 100,000,000 under the Southern Cross will be shot javelins of Christianity and of lofty political and educational influences into the very heart of Japan, India, and China, and even of the Dark Continent itself.

Notice next a list of the perils in the religious future of these colonies under the Southern Cross: —

1. The concentration of its population in cities, and the comparative smallness of the rural population.

2. The necessity of managing cities under universal suffrage and party government.

3. The absence of an aristocracy and a leisured class, to set a high standard in manners and social fashions.

4. The formation of new classes in society, especially of a lawless and explosive lower class, a pushing middle class, and an overworked upper class.

5. The crude, transitional state of the democratic thought of the masses in our day.

6. The rising to power of a generation that has not seen England or Scotland.

7. The opportunity to gain wealth swiftly, and hence haste to be rich.

8. Passion for amusement and luxury.

9. Excessive secularism, arising from the complete abolition of church and state in a population not accustomed to the exclusive use of the voluntary system in church affairs.

10. Sectarian rivalry from the same cause.

11. Bondage of pulpit to pews under the voluntary system.

12. Climate, increasing the danger of the characteristic vices, and weakening the characteristic virtues of the British people, — energy and purity suffering always some diminution in sub-tropical regions.

After all, I regard this climatic influence as by no means the least of the perils of the northern Australian populations. Britons in Queensland are in the climate of Spain and Algiers. Tasmania is like England in her climate. New Zealand resembles portions of the mother island, but the most of Australia lies in a sub-tropical climate; and already, in the younger population, you begin to find developed some of the fringes of the vices of Spain and Italy, and of the whole region of the sub-tropical world. Such intemperance as Britons hardly survive at home is swiftly fatal in Australia. Let the populations under the Southern Cross be delivered from the vices peculiar to highly heated climates; let Christianity purify civilization there in such a manner that it may shine with beams as keen as those of any northern

constellation ; and there will not be on the face of the globe in one hundred years — except probably in the American Republic — a more influential gathering of English-speaking people than in Australasia at large.

Australia is the most Americanized portion of the British Empire. It is so vast that in the few months which you spend in it, in meeting crowded lecture appointments, you cannot see half of it. But Australia concentrates its population in large towns. In fifteen cities of Australia and Tasmania in which you lecture, you find more than half the population. The towns cling to the river-courses and the best sea-ports. Australia is, and for ages is likely to be, a crescent of population. The tips of it are at Port Darwin in the north, and at Adelaide in the south. The chief thickness of it is at Brisbane, Sydney, and Melbourne. This crescent will enlarge until, perhaps, there may be in it, in Australia alone, an hundred millions of people. Near the crescent will burn two stars of the first magnitude — Tasmania and New Zealand. Minor stars, like the Fijis and other islands under British control, will surround this group, and so the whole constellation will float through the azure of history.

British Imperial Federation is favored by the best minds in Australia. Victoria is the determined advocate of Australian confederation. New South Wales, as yet, has treated this great proposal with much coolness. Several of her statesmen fear that local confederation might lead to a movement for Australasian independence, and so defeat or delay

Imperial Federation. It is to be devoutly hoped that such wisdom will preside over the political, educational, and religious counsels of the British Empire that the mother islands and Australasia may belong to one political organization as long as Ursa Major and the Southern Cross belong to one sky!

Pausing only for a single lecture at beautiful Auckland, in green New Zealand, you move northward, through the placid Pacific and its clustered islands, its tropical showers, its refreshing trade-winds, and beneath its amazing night skies, in which a vast comet blazes among the southern constellations. At last the shadows once more begin to fall southward at noon.

On a dazzling day, full of peace on sea and land, the Sandwich Islands lift themselves from the steel-blue and violet seas. You meet a chief justice, several professors and missionaries, see the king, gather a collection of curiosities and state documents, deliver a lecture, and return to your steamer through the tropical dusk, all inside of five hours.

You are leaving at Honolulu the last land that you are to visit before you see once more America, your own. There is a crowd on the wharf, partly of Americans, but chiefly of natives; and, as your majestic steamer drops off shore into the scented dark, you hear many voices call out "Aloha," which is the Hawaiian for "Farewell, and God bless you." You have studied these islands from afar, and understand very well that this call is in some sense the wail of a race about to be exterminated. *Morituri salutamus*,—"We who are about to die salute you." There is

endless pathos in the tender intonation of the final courteous wish of the natives as you drift from their shore. You find summed up in that wail your whole experience of listening to the innermost heart of humanity. In that wail you hear the millions of India utter their desire for progress, the millions of China call out for a better future, Japan express herself with emphasis on the side of advanced civilization, the islands of all the seas lift up their prayer to Almighty God for regeneration.

As the Southern Cross sinks from view below the rim of the sea, and your tour of the world begins to approach completion, you feel, for more than an hour or a day, like turning back upon your course and visiting again every people that you have found struggling toward the light. Your heart is on the Thames and the Rhine, indeed; it is on the Tiber and the Ilissus; but you find your enthusiasms for classical lands overborne by the tides of new Oriental and Southern enthusiasms. Your heart is on the Ganges and on the Yang Tse Kiang; it is on the slopes of Fuji-Yama and the Himalayas; it is on the shores of Australia and in the islands of the Pacific; it is here in the Hawaiian group at the foot of Mauna Loa. You feel almost ready to make a resolve to go back around the globe before you die, if God will, and this time toward the setting sun, and meet once more all the nations that the English speech can reach. You lean in the midnight against the mast of your ship, and look upward to the familiar constellations which now begin to rise out of the north. They are tremorless in spite of the tossing of all beneath you, and your

heart is as fixed as they, never, on land or sea, to be disloyal to international duties. America is dear to you as never before. The first sight of it, as you strain your lonely and thirsty eyes eastward, awakens unspeakable emotion. You have been a pilgrim long. On the sunrise of your twenty-fifth day from Sydney, the blue heights of the Coast Range, above the dim mists that shroud the Farallone Islands and the Golden Gate, greet you from your own skies. El Capitan seems near. Whether you have any friends left to you in your native land, you do not know. You make no predictions, no promises ; but you are resolved that, whatever may betide, you will do your utmost while you live to lift your own nation to a sense of cosmopolitan obligations.

Nowhere on the globe is there a nation which has such influence beyond its own borders as our own. Great Britain has more political, but the United States more moral, influence than any other nation. It is because of the advance of education and democracy ; it is because of the progress of Christianity, that at the bottom of the wail of every struggling people you find American aspirations. In Switzerland I heard the news of the death of Garfield, and all the Alps seemed quivering in sympathy with our national bereavement. In Ceylon I heard of the death of Longfellow, and all the tropical forests seemed trembling in pain at our grief. In the Inland Sea of Japan I heard of the death of Emerson, and all the sacred groves seemed uttering their sympathy with our loss. Wherever on the earth I have put my ear upon the breast of the nations and listened, not to

what the people are ready to say publicly in the face of tyranny, but to what they say at firesides and in their secret thoughts, I have always heard the echo of President Lincoln's prayer, that governments of the people, for the people, and by the people, may not perish from the earth. There is another prayer uttered by One whose pierced palms are moulding the ages into the pattern which He loves — a prayer that we all may be one. You land in America resolved to make that prayer your own while life lasts. You return hoping that those pierced palms which have lifted heathenism off its hinges and turned into new channels the dolorous and accursed ages, may decisively mould you and your nation and all the earth until the ideal of the Heart behind them becomes that of the entire family of man. Your supreme wish is to draw the whole globe into God's bosom so closely that the sound of His pulses may become the marching song of all the ages.

" Ring, bells, in unrequited steeples,
 The joy of unborn peoples;
 Sound, trumpets, far off blown;
 Your triumph is our own."

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.



THE TAJ MAHAL.

BISHOP HEBER has described the Taj Mahal as a dream in marble, designed by Titans and finished by jewelers. Early in the morning, before the sun is up, the dazzlingly white form of this marvelous structure, as seen from the plains around Agra, is said to appear light blue. As the sun rises, it takes a roseate hue from the glowing East. When a storm is impending, and dark purple clouds fill the sky, it has a delicately soft violet color. The most striking effect is produced by moonlight, in which its domes are changed to silver, and seem to float through space as an aerial vision.

It was my fortune to see the Taj Mahal first at sunrise. On a crystalline morning, as our train glided along the palm-clad banks of the turbid Jumna, through brown, level fields, on looking up from the fascinating page of history which I was reading, I saw, unexpectedly and at no great distance, the wonderfully graceful domes and minarets of the Taj in the fresh gardens around it, on the southern border of the sacred affluent of the Ganges. Symmetry, dignity, stateliness, but not massiveness, were the chief

characteristics of the architecture as viewed from a distance. The domes were gleaming silver bubbles at the edge of the sky, themselves almost as transparent in appearance as the azure itself. Aspiration and a certain devoutness were expressed by the pure white of the towering pinnacles; but the flame of the building by no means rose to the sky as prayerfully and overawingly as that of a Gothic cathedral.

The Taj, however, is not a temple, but a tomb. It was built to be a resplendent and stately memorial of domestic affection rather than a public shrine of religious devotion. Shah Jehan erected the Taj Mahal as a memorial of a beloved wife, Banoo Begum. He is himself buried in it, at her side. It is to be judged by the effectiveness with which its architecture achieves its own predetermined and peculiar purposes. To compare the Taj with Milan Cathedral or with York Minster, and condemn it, because it is less religiously impressive than they are, is unfair, for it is not a building of parallel aims. For a similar reason it cannot be justly contrasted with the Parthenon. The solace of bereavement is the hope of immortality, and so the Taj is naturally enough covered with sacred texts inlaid in precious stones, and intended to lift the thoughts of all observers to a world to come; but no religious services are held in the building. It is a spot intended not for public and congregated worship, but for private grief and secret prayer. If public worship is to be performed on the grounds of the Taj, the place for it is in one of the two mosques which face the central building. This itself is consecrated exclusively to the memory of the

dead, and to the sacred sorrows, meditations, and devotions of mourners.

The Great Moghul Emperor Akbar, fourth in descent from Tamerlane, was a contemporary of Shakespeare and Queen Elizabeth. In building the tomb of his father, Humayun, at Delhi, he set the architectural example which his grandson, Shah Jehan, afterward copied in the Taj. The magnificent tomb of Humayun is yet standing at Delhi. It is one hundred years older than the Taj, but is of almost exactly parallel design. It is constructed of reddish stone, while the Taj is of pure white marble. It has little ornamentation, while the Taj has much. It has no minarets at its corners, while the Taj has four. In nearly every other point the resemblance between it and the more famous building is so startlingly close that the substantial parts of the design of the Taj Mahal must be held to be less the work of Shah Jehan than of Akbar. He gathered at his court representatives of all the best culture known to him. Nominally a Mohammedan, Akbar, in theology, philosophy, and art, was distinctively and sometimes defiantly an eclectic.

It is conceded by all reputable historians of the Moghul Empire that Byzantine and Florentine artists were in the employment of Shah Jehan. Manrique, a Spanish monk of the Augustinian order, who was in Agra in 1641, attributes the design of the Taj Mahal to a Venetian, by name Geronimo Verromeo. After his death, the work is believed to have been made over to a Byzantine Turk. Austin, a French artist, is said to have been consulted as to the orna-

mentation before it was completed. His portrait in *pietra dura* was once to be seen at the back of the throne in Shah Jehan's palace, in the fort of New Delhi. He is mentioned by Bernier and Tavernier. Florentine work in *pietra dura* dates from about 1570. Nevertheless, as a glance at the building will show, the general design of the Taj, and even of its ornamentation in mosaic, is not Italian, not French, not Hindu, but the purest Saracenic. The truth seems to be that in some of the details of the ornamentation foreign artists were employed; but that all the chief parts of the plan, found as they are in the tomb of Humayun, which was erected in 1556, are to be attributed to Saracenic art.

The Taj Mahal is a modern building, of a date not more remote than the colonization of Boston or the landing on Plymouth Rock. Inscriptions over its windows and gateways state that it was finished in 1648. It is said to have been begun in 1630, and to have employed the compulsory labor of 20,000 men for seventeen years.

At two o'clock in a cool, bright afternoon, I drove with my wife to the Taj, and we spent there five hours, ending with the sunset and moonlight, and allowed the architecture and the gardens to exert upon us their full allurements. Next day, after visits to Akbar's tomb and Shah Jehan's Pearl Mosque, we were again at the Taj Mahal in the afternoon and moonlight for many hours, which passed as if in a kind of trance.

The grounds of the enclosure around the Taj are 1,860 feet long by more than 1,000 wide, with the

narrow end next the Jumna, which here runs in a beautiful curve from west to east. They are surrounded by a massive wall, fifteen feet high, and filled with abundant and choice trees and flowers. The roses of the Taj gardens are celebrated throughout India for their size, colors, fragrance, and variety. The south end of the grounds contains a lofty and elaborate gateway of red stone, with white marble trimmings, and is flanked by a wall, with many pillared recesses and cusped arches on both the outer and inner sides. Entering through this stately portal, itself a noble monument of Saracenic art, the observer sees the white marble front of the Taj, about 1,500 feet from him, shut in by the luxuriant foliage of the gardens, and usually screened by the spray of a straight line of fifty or more fountains, throwing up each a single jet, some fifteen feet high.

As we entered, the fountains were not playing; but the quiet water, in the long, straight tank in which they stood, reflected beautifully a portion of the Taj. My feeling is that it would be an improvement to place between the southern gate and the Taj a broad pool, wide enough to mirror all its domes and minarets, and thus double the impressiveness of the vision. The fountains might be arranged much more gracefully around the marble edges of such a pool than in a straight line in a tank, as they now stand.

We walked down the gardens at the side of the fountains, and soon found ourselves on the lowermost platform of the Taj, at the north end of the grounds. This is only four feet above the level of the gardens, but there rises from it a central platform of white

marble, 313 feet square and 18 high. On this the Taj is erected, a rectangular building, 187 feet in depth and breadth, but with its corners cut off, so that the whole forms an eight-sided ground plan. The central dome, 50 feet in diameter, rises with its finials 243 feet. Four smaller domes surround it. At each corner of the great platform, and wholly detached from the central building, there stands a minaret 137 feet high.

Everything, from the base of the great central platform upward, is of pure white marble. On the right hand and the left, however, at a distance of perhaps fifty yards, stand two subsidiary structures of red stone, each facing the Taj, and ornamented with white marble and with domes of the same material. These are mosques; but only one of them faces toward Mecca, and only this is used for religious purposes. The other is called the False Mosque, and was added to balance the true one, so as to preserve the symmetry of the architectural group.

Ascending the great marble platform, we advanced across it to the dazzlingly white side of the Taj, and entered the building through its very lofty portal, which impressed us by the purity of its material, the symmetry of its design, and the serious texts written in bold mosaic around its margins. On the exterior the Taj has texts of the Koran worked with black marble into the white marble as borders for its gigantic porches and its windows. Arabesques of similar inscriptions ornament the summits of the eight sides. Around the base are chiseled delicate carvings of the lotus flower and the lily. The ornamentation of the

exterior nowhere strikes one as excessive, and harmonizes admirably with the general effect of the architecture. The moment we entered the interior, however, the sense of the ornament everywhere introduced in the lower half of the great octagonal hall beneath the central dome became intense, and for a while almost oppressive. The tombs of Banoo Begum and of Shah Jehan are nearly under the centre of the dome. The long marble sarcophagi blazed with the richest inlaid work. They were once thickly set with precious stones. Around them has been placed an octagonal marble screen, some seven feet high, and on it, as well as on the pilasters of the solemn chamber, the skill of the worker in various colored marbles has been poured out in a lavish deluge. The screen is about two inches thick, and is so perforated as to look, at a little distance, like white lace-work. Seen near at hand, its borders are found to be inlaid everywhere with work as fine as the best specimens of Florentine mosaic. The chief subjects represented by the colored stones are flowers and leaves. In the bendings and juxtapositions of the figures the laws of perspective and of light and shadow are observed with the happiest effect. It is in this inlaid work that Italian aid was probably given to the Moghul designers of the Taj; and yet the abundance and general arrangement of the ornamentation are not Italian, but Saracenic.

On the pilasters and walls of the lower half of the octagonal inner chamber, the work in *pietra dura* flames out from every quarter. Half way up the pilared shade a frieze extends around the hall, bearing

quotations from the Koran. Here are jasper from the Punjaub, carnelians from Bagdad, turquoises from Thibet, agate from Yeman, lapis lazuli from Ceylon, coral from Arabia and the Red Sea, garnets from Bundelkund, diamonds from Poonah, loadstone from Gwalior, sapphires from Lunka, chalcedony from Vil-lait, onyx and amethyst from Persia. Most of these precious stones were received in place of tribute from different nations under Shah Jehan's rule, or as presents. The white marble came from Jeypore, in Rajpootana ; the yellow from the banks of the Nerbudda.

There are no windows of glass in the Taj. The great recesses, where windows would be placed in a Gothic cathedral, are filled with marble lattice-work, so beautifully designed as at once to admit the light and exclude the direct rays of the sun. The dome has in it no openings whatever, and so the interior lacks that expression of aspiration which is the chief glory of St. Peter's, or St. Paul's, or of the Pantheon. Neither does the outline of the interior of the dome correspond with that of the exterior. The true tombs of Shah Jehan and of his wife are in the basement of the building, in a space entered only by a sloping marble passage, and lighted from its single door. The highly ornamented sarcophagi, in the octagonal hall above, are placed exactly over the true tombs below. So in Akbar's magnificent tomb among the giant tamarinds of Secundra, near Agra, the vault in which his body lies is in the base of the structure ; but the celebrated block of marble which is shown as his memorial, and is inscribed with ninety-nine names of the Deity, is at the summit.

Coming out into the light of a low western sun, we ascended one of the minarets, and afterward the great southern gate, and gazed upon the whole architectural group, taken as a unit. We were more and more impressed by its combination of vigor and boldness with symmetry and beauty ; nor did we feel that the ornamentation was, on the whole, excessive. Although the entire impression is undoubtedly feminine, the proportions of the building are so large and noble that it cannot with any justice be called a mere jewel or toy. Zoffany's remark, that all the Taj needs is a glass case, appeared to us as unappreciative as it is surly. Bunker Hill Monument, or even the Kutub Minar, is not as high as the central dome of the Taj. Its breadth and elevation are both underrated on account of the matchless symmetry of the whole structure. If I had some difficulty in indorsing Bishop Heber's remark that the Taj was designed by Titans, I had none at all in affirming that its plan would have been worthy of the feminine genius of a Raphael, although not of the entire mind of a Michel Angelo.

The green parrots flew, screaming, above the rustling tamarinds and bamboos and mangoes and delicate acacias and stately palms of the gardens. From secluded distances came the notes of the mourning dove and of the barbet, a small bird with tones resembling those of the cuckoo, — a little drop of celestial melody to which I have listened with inexpressible delight at a thousand places throughout the whole length of India, from the Himalayas to Ceylon. The twilight passed swiftly. The stars appeared with a lustre peculiar to Eastern skies. It was when

the moon came up that the full impression of the architecture and of the gardens fell upon us and dissipated all tendency to criticism. We wandered again into the hall beneath the dome, and listened to the long, tremulous echoes which make this resounding marble sky a kind of acoustic miracle. Hindu women, with tinkling bangles on their ankles, walked around the tomb of the beloved wife, and the dome transformed the tinklings into a shower of musical sounds, which were themselves reëchoed in successive showers, until they faded away into the mist of silence. Above the tomb hung, in the very centre of the hall, an ostrich egg, symbol of the care which Providence has of helpless human hopes, left in the deserts of time, as the ostrich leaves her eggs in the sand, apparently forgotten, but, at last, brought to the birth by the genial heat of earth and sky. This symbol is very common, even in churches in the East, among Oriental Christians, and is found nearly everywhere in Mohammedan mosques.

There lay on the tomb of Banoo Begum fresh flowers, and yet I did not feel like accepting one of them when it was offered to me, so loathsome is even the corpse of polygamy, when seen near at hand. It is impossible to forget that the Taj was a memorial not so much of a wife as of a mistress. Polygamy stains the historical associations of this white and holy architecture, and goes far toward justifying the remark of Talboys Wheeler, one of the historians of India, that, in spite of the innocence and purity of the marbles, the soul of the building is dead. This woman, who was called the Light of the World, may

have been by nature one of the noblest ; but the polygamistic system which degraded her and her children has left some of the fairest regions of the globe without a single specimen of what a human home should be.

Lying down in the twilight and gazing into the sky above the Ganges plain, and meditating long on the means by which the regeneration of Asia is to be achieved, I could hear the voice of that continent in its better future uttering above the tomb of Banoo Begum, in the Taj Mahal, its execration of the ha-rem and its malison against polygamy.

In the silvery sea of light we walked slowly through the arches of the western mosque, and looked eastward, on the palpitating, golden disk of the nearly full moon, rising behind the marble domes. The Jumna rolled silently past. Orion blazed from the mid-heaven. Akbar, Shah Jehan, Aurungzebe, were the ghosts in the historic sky. The whole scene was glorious exceedingly, and attached us mysteriously to Asia. It was necessary, however, to confess that the great souls whose memory haunts the Taj Mahal are few ; and that its associations, if compared with those of the Parthenon, are as starlight in contrast with sunlight. But in sorceries of symmetry in architecture the Taj has but one superior on the whole earth, and that is the Parthenon. It is more than much to be second in a list in which the Parthenon stands first.

APPENDIX II.



IN THE HIMALAYAS.

COLERIDGE'S hymn to Mont Blanc does not exaggerate the impressiveness of that glorious peak of Europe ; but some yet unwritten and nobler hymn is deserved by Kinchinjunga. Darjeeling is the Himalayan Chamounix. The overpowering fact here is, however, that everything in the mountain scenery is on a grander than Alpine scale. From the observatory hill in Darjeeling, where I am writing, more than twelve peaks can be counted which rise above 20,000 feet, and there are none below 15,000 in the line between earth and sky.

The snowy range stretches like an army of archangels from north to east around an eighth of the horizon. The waterfalls call from the distant precipices. The bees hum in the grass at my feet. The air is still, crystalline, holy. The shadows of the clouds chase each other over the seas of evergreen oaks, the giddy chasms, the stealthy glaciers, the everlasting snows.

The chief peculiarity of Darjeeling is that its depths are almost as impressive as its heights. The town of white bungalows is built on the crest of a

wooded ridge, some three miles long and surrounded on the east, north, and south by gigantic ravines. As I look downward, the stupendous slopes, covered with tea-plantations, pastures, and forests, descend, in three directions, some six thousand feet in eleven miles. From the lowest point the eye can reach in the valley of the Runjeet River, below me, to the crest of Kinchinjunga, the distance, in a vertical line, is not less than five miles.

This scenery is probably unmatched on the earth, though not on the moon, in which the telescopic mountains, many miles high and rolled above our heads daily, are strangely unappreciated, and yet are not to be forgotten face to face with Everest and Kinchinjunga.

The Himalayas dazzle the Swiss Alps — not into nothingness, nor out of sight, nor into tameness; but into a rank of incontestable inferiority.

The Alps, however, have more variety and beauty, although less sublimity and grandeur, than the Himalayas. In the outlook from Darjeeling, while the majesties are unapproachable by those of any other known terrestrial view, one misses keenly the lakes which give such a charm to the prospect from the Rhigi, the near glaciers and avalanches of Chamounix, and the half-mile waterfalls, the gigantic trees, and the astounding precipices of the Yosemite Valley.

Mont Blanc is only 15,810 feet high, while Kinchinjunga is 28,000 and Everest 29,000. Kinchinjunga, forty miles distant from Darjeeling, appears to be, as it is, more than twice as high as Mont Blanc,

as seen from Geneva. Mont Blanc, as viewed from Chamounix, is seen from a high mountain valley; but Kinchinjunga, as viewed from the Runjeet, lifts itself more than 25,000 feet above the level of the observer into the clouds. As seen from Senchal, six miles from Darjeeling, Everest, although it is the highest known summit in the world, is less impressive than Kinchinjunga, for it is one hundred and fifty miles away; but its majesty, even in the distant view, exceeds that of Monte Rosa and Mont Blanc, as seen from the towers of the Cathedral of Milan.

“I climbed the roofs at break of day,
Sun-smitten Alps before me lay.
I stood among the silent statues
And statued pinnacles mute as they.
How faintly flushed, how phantom fair,
Was Monte Rosa, hanging there,
A thousand shadowy penciled valleys
And snowy dells in a golden air.”

TENNYSON: *The Daisy*.

Everest is properly described by no one word except its native name, Deodhunga — *God-height*.

Darjeeling lies only some four hundred miles north of Calcutta and has little snow; but its weather is often icy on days when the tropical Hooghly is enswathed in a steaming vapor-bath. It is reached by a half-day's railway journey, across flat, palm-clad, deltaic Bengal, to the Ganges; a ferry over that broad, yellow stream, which greatly resembles the Missouri in the turbidness and waywardness of its currents, and especially in the blown sand of the flats in the bare portions of its bed at low water; a night's journey by narrow-gauge railway to Siligori, on the

outer edge of the marshes at the foot of the hills ; and then a day's travel by steam tramway across the famous jungles in these marshes and along the grand ascent through Teendaria and Kurseong.

In moving up the slopes of the Himalayas from the Ganges Plain to Darjeeling, the fascinated traveler has opportunity to study the vigorous tropical vegetation at the base of the hills ; the gradual change of this into the oak forests of the middle heights ; the tree ferns succeeding the palms and the bamboos ; the mosses festooning both the rocks and the trees ; the trickling rills in the cool ravines ; the dashing mountain brooks, with their crystal pools ; the trailing plants choking many of the kings of the forest ; the far, grand outlook over the gray, dusty plains, and the gleaming, tawny rivers, on their way through the parched lowlands ; the numberless curves of the iron road ; the audacious grades up which the engine climbs, like a thing of life ; the occasional villages of bamboo huts ; the sturdy Nepaulese, with their broad knives in their girdles ; the savage Bhootans and Thibetans, with many of the Mongolian traits in their features ; the tea-plantations, with their capacious bungalows for the masters and rows of huts for the coolies ; the small, gray, patient oxen ; the rather undersized but vigorous Himalayan ponies ; the prayer flags above Buddhist villages ; the slight falls of snow ; and, at last, the bursting into view of Kinchinjunga itself and its companion giants. At from 12,000 to 10,000 feet above the sea the southern slope of the Himalayas produces fir-trees, dwarf rhododendrons, aromatic rhododendrons, juni-

per, holly, currants, cherries, pears, lilacs, primroses, and violets; at from 10,000 to 8,000 and lower, oak, chestnut, olives, figs, laurel, maple, barberry, lily of the valley, and white rose; at from 8,000 to 6,000 and lower, the magnolia, peach, strawberry, and most of the flowers of Germany and England; at from 6,000 to 4,000 and lower, tree ferns, plantains, walnuts, and birches; at from 4,000 to 3,000, rice, barley, buckwheat, maize, yam, cummin, mint, and rue; at from 1,000 to the plains, figs, dates, magnolias, lotus-trees, ginger, orchids, mangoes, twelve kinds of bamboos, and many varieties of palms. In spite, however, of the number and interest of the objects in view, the approach to Darjeeling does not equal that to the Yosemite Valley by the Mariposa or the Calaveras grove of mammoth trees; nor that to Chamonix from Geneva by the way of Vevay, the Rhone Valley, and the Tête-noir Pass.

In Darjeeling there are some 500 British residents, besides pupils in an important school, which prepares young men for the entrance examination for the Calcutta University. The whole population of the place is upward of 90,000; but so scattered are the native quarters, and so exclusively do the English occupy the summit of the ridge, that the main portion of the place is very British in appearance. Each house is surrounded by well-kept grounds; fine, broad roads lead along the slopes; there is abundant greenness and not a little attention to landscape gardening. A Union chapel and an English church are among the principal buildings. The number of grounds for playing lawn-tennis and other English games indi-

cate the tastes of the leisured and wealthy proprietors of the tea-plantations, which abound on all the lower slopes.

The Buddhist temple of the town is, on the whole, a repulsive place; architecturally ugly and morally without dignity. We saw in it a curious Buddhist library, of perhaps 150 volumes; a dozen or so of untidy monks and a few savage-looking worshipers. In the vestibule stood a praying machine, consisting of a cylinder, about six feet high, placed upright, and filled with something like a mile's length of cloth, covered with printed prayers. This is whirled by a crank underneath it, and every revolution is equivalent to the utterance of all the prayers within the cylinder. A dozen or more smaller cylinders were in the same vestibule; and yet smaller ones, of which I purchased a specimen, were in motion in the hands of the priests, as they walked about the temple. Prayer flags, as seen at Darjeeling, are strips of white cotton, about a yard in breadth and from ten to twenty feet long, attached lengthwise to poles and covered with printed prayers. Every motion of the flag in the wind is supposed to be of the same devotional value as would be the utterance of the prayers inscribed on the cloth.

The Himalayas are fitly called the Abode of Snow. The regions around the South Pole of the earth deserve this name by preëminence. It is affirmed on high authority that a possible accumulation of snow at the South Pole, in connection with certain conjunctions of the planets, might cause an instantaneous change in the position of the axis of rotation of

the earth. The result would be a deluge, and the effacement of the present continents and the formation of new ones; but it is understood by men of science that even in such an upheaval of the great deep, the tops of the Himalayas would remain above the waves, and thus form a beginning for a new career of the life of plants and animals and men in a renovated world.

APPENDIX III.

THE DEATH OF KESHUB CHUNDER SEN.

A HEROIC soldier of religious reform, a saint, a seer, has passed into the world into which all men haste.

No Asiatic interested me as much as did Keshub Chunder Sen. I came near enough to him to understand something of his nature, his environment, his struggles, his triumphs, his defeats, his hopes. On no one born in India did I build more expectation than on him as to the future of reform among the educated circles of Hindustan. How noble he was; how serious; how worthy of spiritual leadership; how intense; how eloquent; how prayerful! I saw in his soul the Oriental type, and was taught much by it, and had hoped to be taught more. The news from the Ganges that Keshub Chunder Sen is dead overwhelms me with a more profound sense of personal bereavement than I can now remember to have felt before at the departure of any public man. A most interesting and noble career ended at an age of less than forty-six. Oh, my brother, my brother, how lonely the world seems without thee!

Rammohun Roy never ceased to be a Brahmin.

When he died at Bristol, England, in 1833, the sacred Brahminical thread was found around his shoulders. He was a vacillating adherent of a conservative form of Unitarianism. He was consistent in his opposition to idolatry ; but he never efficiently attacked caste. He instituted an agitation which led to the abolition of the burning of Hindu widows ; but he did not permit their remarriage. He was a writer of much logical power, but inspired his associates with little spiritual fervor.

Debendranath Tagore, who reorganized the Brahmo Somaj, at Calcutta, after Rammohun Roy's death, was a man of devout and lofty soul ; but he did not wholly break with Hindu customs as to caste.

It is to Keshub Chunder Sen that India owes the most thorough opposition any of her native reformers has yet made to caste, child-marriages, and enforced widowhood, as well as to idolatry, polytheism, pantheism, and materialism in all their forms. When yet comparatively young and acting in closest fellowship with Debendranath Tagore, he demanded that only those who had cast away the Brahminical sacred thread should be allowed to act as preachers in the Brahmo Somaj. This reform was not granted to him ; and, therefore, with some of the most earnest and progressive of the Brahmos, he seceded from the original society, and founded in 1860 a new organization, which cut the last bonds that bound it to Brahminism. It was under his leadership that the Indian Reform Association was organized, after his return from his visit to England in 1870. He stimulated discussions as to the evils of child-marriages. He

broke with all the rules of orthodox Hindu society in favoring the remarriage of widows and marriages between persons of different castes. In the face of the bitterest opposition he secured from the government of India a law legalizing such marriages. Only those who know how the topic of marriage is interwoven with the whole net-work of legal and social usages in India will appreciate the courage and the wisdom of this effort to engraft Occidental and Christian ideas as to the home and the family upon Oriental customs having the highest sanction of age and Brahminical approval.

But Keshub Chunder Sen was an orator as well as a reformer. In his earliest manhood it was the force and beauty of his public speech which first gave him influence as a leader. Oriental in his rhetoric, and too little given to theological study, he sometimes offended severe Occidental tastes by both his manner and matter ; but, as he grew more mature, he was becoming more balanced and massive. His best productions have an almost classical grace and vigor. They are likely to have a long life among Brahmos of the progressive type ; for they breathe the loftiest spirit of reform, of patriotism, and of religious aspiration. Once a year, in the latter portion of his life, he was accustomed to proclaim the principles of his society in an elaborate oration in the Town Hall at Calcutta. That great audience-room, holding from three to four thousand, was usually crowded when he appeared in it.

Keshub Chunder Sen was not a reformer and orator merely ; he was also a religious seer. When his

influence over his followers is closely analyzed, it will be found that his deep communion with the unseen world was the chief source of the authority he was allowed to exercise among his friends and disciples. At a time when his supporters were becoming disheartened and disunited, he instituted daily devotional exercises for them in his own house. He led these services with such a spirit that schism was effectually overcome. Sometimes the exercises were three and five hours in duration. Any religious doctrine which was habitually impressed upon the minds of the worshipers in these assemblies for prayer was regarded as infallibly revealed to them by the Holy Spirit. This startling claim was the centre of the religious philosophy of the Progressive Brahmo Somaj, as led by Keshub Chunder Sen. He held, indeed, that the spirit of the prophets must be subject to the prophets; but he regarded inspiration as quite possible in our day. He always spoke with reverence of all the sacred books of the world, and with the utmost reverence of the Psalms, the Prophets, and the New Testament Scriptures. The crown of India, he once said, "does not belong to Victoria. It belongs to the Founder of Christianity." He went so far as to assert in words "the coeternity of the Son with the Father," and to declare that the more men honor the Son, the more they honor the Father. But, by the preëxistence of Christ, he meant only the existence from eternity in the Divine Mind of a plan to bring Christ into the world. He seems not to have grasped completely the truth of Christ's Deity as revealed in the Gospels; but had his devotional moods

led him to feel as deeply the need of an atonement as they did that of the new birth, he would probably have found God in Christ, both a Saviour and Lord. He emphasized in every way the truths of reason and Scripture concerning the Holy Spirit. His religion he called Eclectic Theism, or the New Dispensation of the Spirit. It was undoubtedly his most sacred conviction that he was himself in some sense inspired as a teacher of this New Dispensation.

Who will take the place of the reformer, the orator, and the seer? His chief coadjutor for years has been Babu Mozumdar, a remarkable man as reformer and orator and religious teacher, but not likely to command, or to desire, that personal allegiance which Keshub Chunder Sen secured. My fear is that the most progressive friends of Keshub Chunder Sen may push to wild extremes his doctrine of inspiration and reverence him as their guide yet, although his soul has passed into the skies. He may be more influential after his death than he was before. His words may now be treasured as those of an inspired prophet, and give direction to the future movements of that portion of the theistic societies of India which he led. It has been frequently predicted — and even by Babu Mozumdar himself — that the death of Keshub Chunder Sen would only add to the authority of the New Dispensation.

Babu Mozumdar, who has left delightful memories of himself in England and America, on his tour of the world, is now, perhaps, in Japan; or, possibly, on the long voyage thence to India. Probably the first news he will receive on setting his feet once

more on his native shores will be that of the death of his great leader. There are less than two hundred Brahmo societies in India, and not all of them are progressive enough to sympathize with Keshub Chunder Sen. The numbers represented by Hindu Theism are small; but it has an important leavening influence in the educated circles of a land containing more people than any Cæsar ever governed.

The progressive Brahmos are in the vestibule of Christianity, with their faces turned toward the inner doors; while radical Unitarians in the Occident are in the same vestibule, but often with their faces turned toward the outer doors. The Brahmo Creed is not yet fixed. It is likely to crystallize much about the final opinions of Keshub Chunder Sen. Would that Providence had led him to a deeper knowledge of Christianity before snatching him from this world! Mere Theism, in the form in which he held it, cannot save India. Christianity can.

BOSTON, MASS.

APPENDIX IV.

TWENTY-FOUR QUESTIONS ON NEW JAPAN.

Answered in writing by the Rev. Dr. VERBECK, of Tokio ; by the Rev. Mr. IBUKA and other Japanese, of Tokio ; by the Rev. Dr. GREENE and Professor GORDON, of Kioto ; and by the Rev. J. H. NEESIMA and other Japanese, of Kioto.

[Oral answers were given by a missionary meeting at Yokohama, Dr. Hepburn presiding ; by a missionary meeting at Tokio, Dr. Verbeck presiding ; and by a missionary meeting at Kobe, the Rev. Mr. Gulick presiding, to the following written questions by Mr. Cook.]

THE QUESTIONS.

1. WHAT are the chief objections made by educated natives of Japan to the acceptance of Christianity ?

2. What are the chief hindrances to its acceptance by the uneducated among the Japanese ?

3. What are the most mischievous forms of inherited misbelief among the Japanese ?

4. What are the most mischievous forms of imported unbelief ?

5. What is the position of the Japanese newspaper press, both native and English, in relation to Christianity ?

6. What has been the religious and philosophical

attitude of the foreign teachers who have been invited to Japan to give instruction in the modern sciences ?

7. What is the average religious effect of a liberal education obtained in the highest seats of learning now accessible in Japan ?

8. What books, opposed to evangelical Christianity and a theistic philosophy, are the most read by the educated Japanese ?

9. What books defending Christianity are the most useful in Japan ?

10. By what aspects of Christian truth are the most conversions made ?

11. What is the effect of liberal education in America or Europe upon the religious opinions of Japanese students ?

12. What policy do the foreign residents of Japan recommend on the subject of extraterritoriality ?

13. How far are Japanese native churches at present self-supporting ?

14. Is it advisable to encourage native Christians in Japan to pay a tenth of their income to their churches, for the support of the Gospel ?

15. What systems of self-help have been found the most efficient among the native churches of Japan ?

16. What is the attitude of the Japanese government toward active Evangelical Protestantism in native churches ?

17. What are the present prospects of the Shinto, the Buddhist, and the Confucian creeds in Japan ?

18. What are the condition and influence of the Greek Church and of Roman Catholicism in Japan ?

19. What is being done for the amelioration of the condition of woman in Japan, especially for female education, and what more ought to be done?

20. What hindrances does the progress of Christianity in Japan experience on account of merely nominal Christianity, or infidelity, or immorality in the lives of European and American residents?

21. How far should the study of the English language be pushed in connection with mission schools?

22. How far should native Japanese converts be expected and taught to adopt Western manners and customs in social intercourse, dress, and style of living, when they adopt Christianity?

23. What criticisms, whether just or unjust, are made by the most intelligent and devout among Japanese Christians on the methods of the foreign missionaries now in Japan?

24. What mistakes do the churches and average public sentiment in the West make as to the religious and political condition of Japan?

ANSWERS BY DR. VERBECK, TOKIO.

1. The religious sentiments of educated natives are and for many generations (feudal system) have been very imperfectly developed. A large majority of them probably regard Christianity with indifference; but as Confucianists they look upon all religion and everything related to it as good enough for and perhaps beneficial to the common people, but with more or less of contempt as far as they themselves are concerned. The educated Japanese (as well as the uneducated) is very apt to attend to and accept

whatever is in vogue for the time being, or whatever may improve his social status. But what is in vogue in Japan at the present time is not religion, but the all-absorbing topic of politics. Hence it is that, when Christianity is discussed by members of the class in question, it usually is from a political point of view. As regards social, and especially official, standing, an educated native's public profession of Christianity might and probably would be more or less prejudicial to it. When the Christian Church in Japan will have attained a certain amount of prestige (and by that time Christian knowledge will be widely diffused among all classes), the educated Japanese will not be disinclined to accept Christianity, if otherwise prepared for it.

2. Faithful or superstitious attachment to Buddhism and ignorance and sensuality.

3. Outside of Buddhistic superstitions and some popular delusions, — ghosts, foxes, etc., — the common Japanese, especially as compared with the Chinese, seem to be remarkably free from ineradicable superstitions and prejudices. This is shown by the advanced age of many of our best Christians, and by the general readiness of this people to adopt foreign things (medicines, machines, processes, laws, manners, and even ideas).

4. Materialism, and to some extent Atheism.

5. The native papers are wrapped up in rather wild politics. Much of what was said under 1 applies to them. Articles very favorable to Christianity have from time to time appeared, and also very bitter ones. Christianity is chiefly discussed by them

from a political stand-point, and then usually with a hostile tendency. One of the English papers (there are three) always speaks with respect of Christianity, and generally of missions and missionaries.

6. A number of them have been and are earnest Christian men. Some skeptic (Morse) Japanese students may listen with pleasure to a skeptical foreigner's teachings, and may follow him; but I doubt if they have any real respect for him.

7. It is naught at present; but this want, at least as far as the utter absence of moral teaching is concerned (especially in view of the general decay of the native religions), is felt by influential members of the educational department, so much so that various ways have been proposed and discussed by them for the removal of this evil (among others an eclectic system).

8. Mill, Spencer, Buckle, the volumes of the disappointing "International Series," etc.

9. Martin's "Evidences of Christianity" has been and is one of the most widely read and useful books of this kind. It is in Chinese, with pointing to make it intelligible to a tolerably educated Japanese. The Scriptures are extensively sold.

10. This reply is rather venturesome; but, stating it roughly, I should say that two fifths are led toward Christianity by the apparent influence of its redemptive aspect; two fifths by its moral (ethical) aspect; and one fifth by its civilizing aspect. The moral aspect of Christianity—such as that *e. g.* set forth in the Sermon on the Mount—always impresses the Japanese when it is brought to their attention (but it is less effective than the redemptive aspect of

Christianity in really leading a man to a sincere acceptance of Christ ; it is more apt to end in mere admiration from without).

11. Not good, with a few happy exceptions (Neesima).

12. There is no emigration, properly so called, of Japanese to foreign parts. As a general thing a Japanese when at Rome will do as the Romans do. He is easily influenced by his surroundings ; he is a creature of policy. In America he may, to all appearances, be a Christian. When he comes home again he is no more a Christian.

13. See statistics.

14. I should not favor it unless it took its rise spontaneously in individual churches. By urging it as a general rule I should fear I might lay the foundation for a superstition in connection with church contributions. The voluntariness of the gifts might also be impaired.

15. No personal experience.

16. Indifferent, if not favorable. As long as native Christians lead honest and quiet lives, the government does not interfere in the least. (The burial question is a Buddhistic rather than a political question.)

17. Not very bright, I should say. In spite of considerable efforts to uphold them, they are declining.

18. Roman Catholicism spreads widely among the lower classes, but the elements gathered in are weak. The Romanists have very little access to the educated classes.

19. A good deal is done in this department both by the government secularly and the mission schools secularly and religiously, and all that seems to be wanting is a wider extension of the methods now in operation. The importance of this department cannot be overstated.

20. Outside of the serving classes and those coming in direct relations with immoral foreign residents, in the way of trade or otherwise, I doubt if the hindrances from this source are as great as might be supposed. I think many of the natives have a clear idea that immoral foreigners are violating the doctrines and conventionalities of their own civilized countries.

21. The intelligence of the people is often underrated, even by those who reside here, chiefly on account of its not always moving in the same lines which we foreigners have been trained in.

The want of truthfulness is justly ascribed to the Japanese; it is a deep-seated characteristic. The mere number of baptized Christians and church members is not a sufficient index of the attitude of the people at large toward Christianity; it is an index of that attitude toward Christianity, as it depends on foreign missions in this country. As regards the political condition, foreigners at home have no idea of the vastness of the spread of the purest radicalism among all classes of this people.

1. I have not referred to the anti-foreign feeling prevalent among the people. It is so strong that many measure a man's patriotism by the degree of this feeling. I am convinced that it arises on the

one hand, no doubt, from Buddhistic and Shintoistic jealousy of Christianity; but, on the other hand, chiefly (nine tenths) from political jealousy (exterritoriality). If the exterritorial rights claimed and possessed by foreigners in Japan were abolished or given up, one would hear comparatively little of hatred of foreigners. As the Japanese are constituted, few things are more calculated to offend and hurt their vanity than exterritoriality.

2. The money question, as it continually arises in connection with the work of the foreign missions in this country, I have also not touched upon in the above replies. It is a serious problem, and I see no way open for a solution which would be sure of producing satisfactory results, and especially no way that would be acceptable to either the missionaries in the field or their constituents at home. One thing seems to me clear: if a system were used according to which not a dollar of foreign money passed out of the hand of the missionary into that of the native convert (lay or ordained), a great part of native prejudice and objection to Christianity would be removed.

3. A large share of native impatience under foreign control or oversight over native churches would be removed, together with the removal of exterritoriality.

ANSWERS BY THE REV. MR. IBUKA AND OTHER
JAPANESE OF TOKIO.

1. The chief objections made by the educated Japanese to the acceptance of Christianity are six, viz.: —

(a.) Supernatural element in Christianity; *e. g.* miracles and divinity of Christ.

(*b.*) The opposition of Christianity to ancestral worship, especially among those who have received Chinese education.

(*c.*) The doctrine of future existence, which they consider as a pious fraud.

(*d.*) Its supposed disadvantage to the growth of national spirit and to the independence of the country.

(*e.*) Alleged conflicts between Christianity and modern science.

(*f.*) Supposed hindrances of Christianity to the progress of civilization.

2. Among the hindrances to its acceptance by the uneducated the following may be mentioned : —

(*a.*) The fear of offending the government and their friends.

(*b.*) The observance of the Sabbath.

(*c.*) Ancestral worship.

(*d.*) Simplicity of Christian worship.

(*e.*) Dislike of change.

(*f.*) Strictness of Christian morals.

(*g.*) Sacrifices and obstacles inherent to Christian profession.

3. The rationalistic tendency of Confucianism among the educated class.

4. Western Atheism, Materialism, Secularism, Agnosticism, and gross forms of Utilitarianism. (Renan, Strauss, and other critics of more refined form on Christianity are not yet extensively known.)

5. The native newspapers of Tokio are mostly indifferent to Christianity, excepting a few which are ready to attack it whenever they have oppor-

tunity. Buddhists and Shintoists have organs of their own.

6. At present most of those instructors who have greatest influence over the youthful minds are against Christianity.

7. Unfavorable to Christianity.

8. Buckle's "History of Civilization" (translated); John S. Mill's works (his "Essays on Religion and Utilitarianism," translated); "Huxley on Protoplasm" (translated); Draper's "Conflicts between Science and Religion," and "The Intellectual Development in Europe;" Thomas Paine's "Age of Reason" (translated); Ingersoll's "Lectures on Gods" (translated); Herbert Spencer's works, Bain's works.

9. Dr. Martin's "Evidences of Christianity," and Dr. Williamson's "Natural Theology," in Chinese.

10. (a.) The great comfort which Christianity gives to the afflicted.

(b.) Excellency of Christian morals.

11. It is not uncommon that our students who went to America return converted; but we have not known or heard of a single instance of the student who was converted in France, Germany, or England.

12. [No answer.]

13. There are some self-supporting native churches; but, generally speaking, they are only partially so.

14. Doubtful.

15. [No answer.]

16. At present indifferent; but at times unfavorable.

17. Shintoism is fast declining in its power. Buddhist faith is losing its hold upon the minds of the

people; but the priests are making a vigorous attempt to withstand Christianity.

18. Romanism has little or no influence among the educated class; but it is gaining its adherents among the uneducated mass. They are said to far outnumber the Protestants. The Greek Church is making considerable progress.

19. The condition of woman in Japan is not so degraded as foreigners usually imagine. But female education is to be encouraged much further.

20. To an immense degree.

21. [No answer.]

22. At present to the utmost degree and as far as possible. A strong Christian college is *the* great want.

23. They ought to be taught to adopt Christianity only.

Among the hindrances to the evangelical work in Japan we respectfully submit the following to your consideration:—

1. The want of insight on the part of missionaries into the Japanese character.

2. The want of their attention to current events.

3. Indiscreet employment of native preachers.

4. The want of their respect toward the Japanese people.

5. Their sectarian bias.

6. Low standard of Christian literature among some missionaries.

N. TAMURA.

M. NYEMURA.

H. KOZAKI.

K. IBUKA.

ANSWERS BY DRS. GREENE, GORDON, AND CURTIS,
OF KIOTO.

1. The chief objections to the acceptance of Christianity on the part of educated Japanese are : —

(1.) The supernatural element.

(2.) The belief that Christianity leads men to undervalue the virtues of filial piety and patriotism. Special stress has recently been laid upon this objection ; and it has been argued that Christianity, by lessening the patriotic spirit, will, if widely accepted, seriously reduce the strength of the nation, and not improbably result in a state of weak dependence upon some foreign power.

(3.) The belief that Christianity is opposed to intellectual progress.

(4.) The belief that the teachings of Christianity are in conflict with modern science.

2. Objections to the acceptance of Christianity by the uneducated : —

(1.) Prejudice against Christianity as a foreign religion.

(2.) Fear of petty persecution from friends and neighbors.

(3.) The sacrifices which Christianity demands, especially those connected with its strict morality, and the difficulty of keeping the Sabbath.

3. Among the educated classes, Confucianism, because of its agnostic character ; but among the uneducated, the various forms of Buddhism.

4. Materialism, Agnosticism, and Atheism.

5. The principal native newspapers are indifferent

to Christianity, though the organs of the various sects of Buddhism assail Christianity as vigorously as they know how, and the "Jiji Shimpō" ("The Times") opposes its progress because of its alleged tendency to weaken the national power. One vernacular paper and several periodicals are printed in the interest of Christianity and are doing good service. The English papers (the term English applies to them not only because they are printed in the English language, but also because all are now under English control) have been in the habit of speaking slightly of missionaries; but of late their tone has been friendly, so far as the writer is aware.

6. Although a number of eminently good men, who have not failed to exert a most valuable Christian influence, have been employed as teachers in the public schools, yet the large majority of the teachers in these schools have been opposed to evangelical Christianity, and by no means a small share of them have been grossly immoral men. A considerable number have placed themselves in active opposition to Christianity.

7. The average religious effect of a liberal education in the highest seats of learning in Japan has been decidedly anti-Christian, though there are said to be a few Christians among the students in the government schools of Tokio.

8. Buckle's "History of Civilization," the works of J. S. Mill, Herbert Spencer, Draper, and Alexander Bain, Paine's "Age of Reason," and several native works, especially one entitled "Bemino," and several of the publications of Mr. Fukuzawa.

9. Up to this time few Christian books in the vernacular have been published, though a good many valuable tracts have been put in circulation. Probably all would agree that, aside from the Scriptures, no more useful book than the "Evidences of Christianity," by Dr. Martin, of Peking, has been circulated in Japan. The number of copies in the hands of the people must be very large. Dr. Williamson's work on "Natural Theology" has had a considerable sale, but its circulation must be much less than that of Dr. Martin's book.

10. The exhibition of God's love in Christ and the purity of the morality of Christianity have, perhaps, made as deep an impression upon the Japanese as any parts of the Christian system. The personal influence of the missionaries has been the means of bringing very many to Christianity.

11. A considerable number have, while in America, connected themselves with evangelical churches; but probably not one in five of such persons have maintained a Christian life after returning to Japan. Those who have are among the most influential of the Japanese Christians.

12. Probably most of the foreign residents of Japan do not feel prepared for any radical change in the present extraterritorial arrangements. They would be glad to see Japan freed from some of the annoyances to which she is now subjected; but they are unwilling to be placed under the jurisdiction of the Japanese government. Since the codification of the laws of Japan, there is less complaint of the laws; but a good deal of distrust of the Japanese courts

is manifested. The foreign residents profess to think that the judiciary is not independent of the executive department of the government, and that there is no well-defined limit to the authority of the police and other officials, and that, should they come under Japanese jurisdiction, they would find themselves annoyed by ill-advised or even by severely oppressive legislation. They contend that the Japanese government is not yet able to give such guarantees for the uniform and equitable administration of justice as Western governments have a right to require.

It has been suggested that if a court of appeals composed, perhaps, of four foreigners and five Japanese, were organized, not as a mixed court in the usual acceptation of that term, but as an integral part of the judicial system of Japan, with the provision that all cases in which a foreigner were concerned might be brought before it on appeal, this lack of confidence on the part of foreigners and their governments in the judiciary of Japan might in a few years be so far overcome that the leading treaty powers would gladly drop the obnoxious clause. To secure this end it would, of course, be necessary to arrange for the publication of full reports in English and Japanese of all cases which might be brought before this court. It is probable that some arrangement of this sort must precede by some years the abandonment of the extritorial claims of the treaty powers.

The operation of this provision of the treaties is by no means appreciated by most foreign residents, or there would be more hope of its abandonment. It operates not only to needlessly irritate, but to seri-

ously hamper, the government in almost every direction. It even, in some cases, renders inoperative the municipal laws of the land. Witness the breaking down of the Health Regulations in 1879 (see "Foreign Relations of the U. S., 1879," p. 657 *f*), and the continual breach of the Japanese laws against lotteries in the neighborhood of Yokohama (see "Japan Weekly Mail," April 22, 1882). Were it necessary, illustrations might be multiplied of the contempt into which just and needful laws are thrown by the conflict of authority growing out of the present arrangements. To the majority of our missionaries it seems that the real injury to the Japanese government is out of all proportion to the advantages which the foreigners enjoy; and they would gladly see the present treaties abrogated to-morrow, and the Japanese government assume jurisdiction over resident foreigners as fully as the United States government does over similar persons within her own domain. It is not to be supposed that the change could be inaugurated without inconvenience, but it seems fitting that the inconvenience should fall upon the comparatively few foreigners and not upon the nation of Japan. It may well be questioned whether the interests of American citizens would not be as safe in the hands of the Japanese government as in those of any government in the world aside from those of the Protestant countries of Europe and America.

D. C. G.

13. See statistics.

14. I think they should be encouraged to a full

consecration of their means to Christ, and the practice of giving one tenth may be, and has been, urged upon them with happy results ; but they should be cautioned that there is no special merit in giving just that proportion. It should be a limit *below* which they are not to fall, rather than one *above* which they should not think of rising. We have not a few Christians, I am convinced, who give more than that proportion.

15. With us there has been no fixed system, and I doubt if it is wise to have one. The responsibility of the Japanese Christians for the full management of the Japanese churches and the complete evangelization of Japan (the missionaries being merely *temporary* guides and helpers) is the essential thing; modes of presenting this may be determined by the individual tact and preferences of the teacher and the condition and disposition of the several churches.

16. Some members of the government are hostile ; more are indifferent ; others are convinced that Christianity is a blessing, and are ready to favor it as it shall, by its good results, commend itself to the people.

17. There is little in Shinto. Confucianism is largely negative. Buddhism (two or three sects of it) shows as much life and power here in Japan as anywhere on earth. Crowds attend its (occasional) preaching services, and large gifts flow into its treasury. Among these latter are some for the special purpose of opposing Christianity.

18. It is said that both use money freely, and while a large number (say 5,000 for the Greek and

40,000 for the Roman Church) from the lower classes are claimed as adherents, the number of educated believers is small. The patriotism of the Japanese leads them to look with suspicion on those religions which seem so closely allied with the idea of temporal power.

19. In the common schools much more is done for girls than formerly. The normal school for girls, under the patronage of the empress, is a further step in the same direction. Mission schools are doing very much directly, and indirectly their influence is beyond measure.

20. It is sometimes said that if Christianity has no better results than those exhibited by the foreign residents Japan has little to gain from it. On the other hand, the upright and unselfish lives of many Christian residents are not without great effect; and the Japanese readily make the distinction between the two classes.

21. Without teaching English no mission school has succeeded or can succeed in Japan. And if English be taught, it ought to be taught thoroughly. Our girls who learn English at all should be able to read commentaries like those of Alford's "New Testament for English Readers," or those of Lyman Abbott, and also biographies and other religious works. It is a great gain to have our young men able to use the apologetic literature of the English language.

22. They should not be taught "Western" manners, etc., at all. They should remain as far as possible in close sympathy and fellowship with their own people, whom they are to win to Christ. But Chris-

tianity will indirectly affect manners and customs more or less — *e. g.* it has made and will still more make the clothing comfortable (flannels) and decent (underclothing) ; it brings a more sincere and unselfish politeness, and places husband and wife more nearly on an equality, etc.

23. [No answer.]

24. Christians in America fail to keep in mind the dark background of heathenism ; and so truthful reports of changes in the government and people and of progress in mission work give an exaggerated impression of what has been done, and leave but a very inadequate idea of the task still before us.

D. C. GREENE,	} <i>Com. of the Japan Mis-</i>
M. L. GORDON,	
W. W. CURTIS,	

sion of the Ameri-
can Board.

ANSWERS BY THE REV. J. H. NEESIMA AND OTHER
JAPANESE, OF KIOTO.

1. They think that Christianity will destroy patriotism, filial duty, loyalty to the Mikado, give rise to religious wars, become the secret means of foreign interference.

They regard the supernatural elements in Christianity as an outgrowth of superstitions and to be antagonistic to modern sciences.

They confound Protestantism with Roman and Greek Catholicism.

2. They regard Christianity as a foreign religion.

They fear the government persecutions on account of the attitude of the government toward the Roman Catholics in the past.

They regard Christianity as a demon's religion.

They regard the Sabbath and other Christian disciplines as too severe and impracticable.

3. (*a.*) Pride, Materialism, Pantheism, and ancestral worship among the Confucianists.

(*b.*) Worship of mammon and lusts, under the various forms of idolatry.

4. The influence of the materialistic and skeptical writers, like Buckle, Mill, Spencer, etc., is felt very largely among the educated class.

5. Generally indifferent.

6. The influence of Christian teachers has been generally very weak, overpowered by some bold infidel teachers.

7. Quite antagonistic to Christianity.

8. The works of Buckle, Mill, Draper, Thomas Paine, Herbert Spencer, Alexander Bain, and Robert Ingersoll.

9. Dr. Martin's "Evidences of Christianity," Williamson's "Natural Theology," both in Chinese. No English apologetic works are read except by Christians.

10. (*a.*) The excellence of the Christian ethics.

(*b.*) The reasonableness of the Christian system.

(*c.*) The doctrine of the New Birth.

(*d.*) The doctrine of the Atonement.

(*e.*) The doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul.

11. Quite unfavorable. Very few of those educated in Europe and America having come back consistent Christians.

12. [No answer.]

13. Those connected with A. B. C. F. M. are mostly self-supporting.

14. Yes. But must be done with great caution.

15. Gradual diminution of foreign money in proportion to the growth of the churches.

16. Apparently indifferent.

17. They are making their very best efforts.

18. The Roman Catholic membership is very large; but they are very ignorant, and hence are of no influence. The Greek Catholics are also making considerable progress in North Japan.

19. Nothing is done outside of the Christian communities except a few government schools. The Christian education of women ought to be very strongly encouraged.

20. They are held out as the representatives of Christian countries; hence, the evils are very great.

21. At least as high as in the government university.

22. Only Christian principles ought to be taught.

23. (*a.*) Some of the missionaries do not seem to appreciate sufficiently the importance of raising up first-class Christian workers.

(*b.*) Some of the missionaries do not seem to appreciate fully the good influence which Christian instructors, physicians, and statesmen could exert in Japanese society.

(*c.*) Some of the American and English missionary societies seem to depend on the quantity rather than on the quality of the missionaries. Hence, the utmost need of a Christian university, with able pro-

fessors, to raise up consecrated and scholarly preachers, teachers, statesmen, and physicians.

JOSEPH H. NEESIMA.

P. M. KANAMORI.

A. T. FUWA.

S. J. MUJAGAWA.

J. T. IZE.

G. EN. KATO.

L. M. ICHIHARA.

A. S. YOSHIDA.

H. K. MORITA.

J. K. EBINA.

APPENDIX V.

THE FUTURE OF JAPANESE CIVILIZATION. SPEECH AT KIOTO, JAPAN, MAY 24, 1882.

THROUGH PROFESSOR ICHIHARA AS INTERPRETER.

The occasion on which the following address was delivered has been described by the Rev. M. L. Gordon, M. D., a professor in the Collegiate School of Kioto. "The Kioto meeting," he writes, "was remarkable in several respects. While a national parliament has not yet been established, there are already local assemblies where representatives, elected by the people, discuss and decide many matters of local interest. That which meets in Kioto includes the city and two or three outlying provinces. Leading members of this assembly invited Mr. Cook to deliver the address, and they provided the building and assumed all the expenses. They issued tickets of admission, and many members of the assembly and leading officials of the city government were present, the vice-governor being on the platform. Some Buddhist priests were invited and were present, as were many of the most intelligent men of the city.

"The largest building that could that day be secured was a theatre holding 1,200 to 1,500, and it was filled to its utmost capacity. Mr. Cook's address, with its interpretation, occupied three hours and three quarters, during the whole of which time, with perhaps the exception of the last twenty minutes when some began to leave the room, there was the most perfect order. The address was the same as that given in Kobe and Osaka, only fuller and more outspoken. It was indeed a rare day, and as he sowed with a full hand those seeds of Evangelical Christian truth into minds which, if they had heard at all, had heard from afar, one could not help the feeling that the hand of God was in it, and that He would not suffer His word to return unto Him void. It is probable that the address was more distinctively religious than some

expected it to be, still the managers of the meeting knew what Mr. Cook's addresses had been elsewhere, and they invited him without even a shadow of a suggestion that he should trim his speech.

"Coming out of that meeting with the recollection that that great audience of legislators, a vice-governor and many lower officials, physicians, lawyers, editors, teachers, pupils, priests, merchants, etc., had been sitting in perfect quietness and attention for four hours, listening to a Christian preacher, a foreigner, too, at that, declaring here in this old, sacred city of Kioto that Christianity alone can give them the civilization they seek, the safe constitutional freedom to which they aspire, and then recalling the fact that within ten years a Protestant Christian, imprisoned for his faith alone, died in the prison of this same city, one could hardly help shouting: What hath God wrought!"

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATIONS OF KIOTO.

It is a cheerful sign of the times that an eager and crowded assembly like this can be gathered within the rim of the sacred hills of Kioto, the Jerusalem of Reformed Buddhism, to listen to a discussion of the relations of Christianity to the future of Japanese civilization. A noble and venerable city, always spoken of by the Japanese with reverential tenderness and exulting pride, beautiful for situation, the joy of this whole empire, Kioto is filled with the temples and schools of your traditional faiths, and crowded with classic and sacred associations. It, or its vicinity, has been for seventeen centuries the residence of the Mikado himself, a ruler whose family line antedates the Roman Empire, and is the oldest continuous dynasty on earth.

I am aware that many opinions entirely antagonistic to my own are represented in this audience. The Japanese, however, are the first of the nations of Asia to make it a part of their public policy to

cultivate and extend the sacred liberty of free speech. In employing it, I hope I shall not forget for an instant the high requirements of Japanese courtesy.

It must be evident that no sinister or selfish motive actuates the speaker who has here and now the honor to address you. I am in the pay of no society, committee, or individual. I am the representative of no religious, political, or other organization. On a lecture tour around the world, I am speaking here in response to the explicit invitation of certain honorable members of the Provincial Assembly of Kioto. I am an American; and my republic does not own, nor desire to own, a square foot of soil in Asia.

CHARTER OATH OF THE MIKADO.

I rejoice in your loyalty to the Emperor of Japan.

But it is he who has proclaimed religious toleration throughout his dominions.

It is he who has assured his subjects that all public measures shall be determined by public opinion.

It is he who, in the great Charter Oath which he took in 1868, and which forms the basis of your new constitution, promised that intellect and learning should be sought for throughout the world to establish the foundations of the empire.

It is he who announced in 1881 his purpose of organizing in 1890 an Imperial Parliament, conducted on the principles of representative institutions.

It is he who said, in a solemn state paper, making these pledges to the people, "Our ancestors watch us from Heaven, and we recognize our responsibility to them for the performance of our high duties."

The Charter Oath of the Emperor of Japan is my justification for freedom of speech. It is the basis of my confidence that you will listen with patience to a discussion of the relations of Christianity to the future of Japanese civilization. He who has taken this oath is most certainly no chilled and benighted materialist. He does not doubt the immortality of the soul, nor that there is a judgment to come.

In our toleration of the just liberties of public discussion, let us imitate the deliberate action of the exalted ruler of this empire ; let us be faithful to the high instruction of his example in permitting and promoting political and religious freedom. Above all, let us imitate his solemnity in presence of the mighty problems of your future. Let us be willing to study the perils as well as the promises of the great transitional period through which Japan is moving in our time. Let the souls of Okubo and Kido counsel us. Let the martyred patriots of Sekigahara, where the unification of Japan was commenced in 1600, and of Fushimi, where it was completed in 1868, inspire us to carry forward and finish the immense reforms which their labors began. Let us conduct our discussions as to the future of this empire, as if in sight of ancestors who watch us from the world into which all men haste.

UNPARALLELED PROGRESS OF JAPAN SINCE 1868.

Thirty years ago Japan was a hermit nation ; to-day she is the advanced guard of the civilization of Eastern Asia.

In one generation she has made changes which it

required five and seven centuries to effect in Europe.

Within fifteen marvelous years Japan has abolished the feudal system; emancipated four fifths of her people from vassalage and made them in effect proprietors of the soil; disarmed a warlike nobility, which had probably six hundred thousand adherents trained to military service; established and equipped an army and navy on the most approved models; assured the freedom of conscience; introduced railways, steam-navigation, the press, and a general postal and savings system; founded universities, and ordained a free system of compulsory education for the instruction of all the children of a population numbering thirty-five millions.

Never before in the history of nations have changes equally important been effected with such rapidity.

It was my fortune, a few days since, to give a lecture at the very spot on the historic shore of Yokohama, where, only twenty-eight years ago, the American Commodore Perry erected the first telegraphic wire and placed on its track the first railway locomotive ever seen in these islands. On that classic ground now stands the church-building of the first native Protestant Christian society organized in Japan. It looks out upon a harbor filled with representatives of the fleets of all nations. It is but fourteen years since the teaching of Christianity ceased to be prohibited in this empire. Already native Christian churches of Japan begin to be self-supporting.

Face to face with Asia, your nation has been the first to abandon Asiatic ideals of civilization and to

adopt those of Europe and America. There is no spot in your territory so obscure or remote as not to have heard the rumble of the wheels of progress.

Japan has risen from the dull, low plain of feudalism to the commanding heights of political and religious freedom, almost as suddenly as her own Fujisan is said to have sprang forth in a single night from the level of the sea to the peerless elevation of its dazzling snows, the last to lose the rays of the setting and the first to greet those of the rising sun.

BASELESS FEARS AS TO POLITICAL PURPOSES OF PROTESTANTISM IN JAPAN.

The Jesuits in the seventeenth century incurred persecution in Japan chiefly because they were supposed to have the secret political purpose of annexing this empire to Portugal or Spain. From that day to this there have been those who have feared that the propagandism of Christianity here must end in making Japan subject to some foreign power. All intelligent men who know the difference between the nineteenth century and the seventeenth, and between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, will smile at the obvious baselessness of such apprehensions. The Jesuits who were here in Xavier's day may have had political motives; the Protestants who are here to-day have none.

I know the personal history of many of the heroic and devout men and women who have come here from America and Europe to teach Christianity. They have made great sacrifices in leaving their native lands. Their thorough education, their energy,

their self-sacrifice, their lofty character, would have given them at home most desirable positions. They have been brought here by motives as free from political or selfish taint as ever your azure Japanese sky was from clouds. They will not be without their reward at the last great day when God makes up his jewels. There is to come a time when they who have turned many to righteousness will shine as stars in the firmament. These men and women would scorn the offer of reward in the shape of political power, or any secular emolument, either for themselves, or for the countries from which they come. They are under the most solemn engagements to the societies they represent not to interfere in any way with your political arrangements. So far are they from representing directly or indirectly any open or covert scheme of political aggression, that if they should favor any such enterprise, they would be instantly dropped from their positions by their immediate superiors, and inevitably lose all support from the Protestant Christian populations of the West.

RETURNED JAPANESE EXILES.

Remember the heroic and pathetic story of some of your own citizens, who, as young men, ventured much to obtain a liberal education in America, brought back from there a profound faith in Protestant Christianity, and are now occupying among you high positions as teachers and organizers of public sentiment. There is in my city of Boston a princely merchant whose ships have visited all the zones, and whose Christian faith is not merely a creed, but a

life. There is to-day on this platform a revered citizen of yours, whom this merchant educated in America, and whose history reads like a romance. Impelled by the desire to study that Bible which has made Western nations great, he escaped when a boy from Japan at the risk of his life. He was brought by Divine Providence across the multitudinous seas to Boston, to a Christian home there, to a New England College and Theological Hall, and finally to his own land once more and to this city, to found here a Christian College of secular and sacred learning, which may God make a Pillar of Fire in the future of Japanese civilization ! There are no men in your islands more loyal to all the highest interests of your empire than those who in the West have received an advanced education and learned to revere a scholarly and aggressive Christianity. Would God we could multiply a thousandfold in Japan the number and the influence of your Samajamas and Neesimas ! Then your political and educational and religious welfare would be assured, and with this your independence of foreign control.

TRAITS OF JAPANESE CHARACTER.

The island of Pappenberg, at the opening of the beautiful harbor of Nagasaki, was the first part of your empire on which my eyes rested. It is called the Tarpeian Rock of Japan. Down its giddy precipices there were cast in the seventeenth century many whose knowledge of Christianity was defective, indeed, but who valued the little that they knew above life. I came into Japan through that one of

your ocean gates which has been made sacred by the memory of many Christian martyrdoms. It is not wonderful that I should have been led to study from the first the serious side of your national character. You are called the French of the East. You are like the French in artistic taste, in literary capacity, in courtesy, in love of pleasure, in vivacity, in courage, in patriotism, and in aspiration for progress. Your critics say that, if you have faults, they are much like those of the French ; but I, for one, see no evidence in your history that you possess that combination of ferocity and frivolity which led Voltaire once to describe his countrymen as a race of tiger-apes. The Japanese have an exquisite perception of the beautiful in nature and art, a native untutored taste unmatched except among the ancient Greeks ; and a sense of honor not surpassed in the days of chivalry by any people of Europe. But, if you are somewhat like the French in the lighter traits of character, you are like them also in the more serious. You are like them in the capacity of producing Huguenots — men whose religious convictions do not waver although subjected to the fiercest flames of persecution. The history of the island of Pappenberg proves your capacity for religious martyrdom. Your native temples, your past and present relations to Christianity, your literature, your family life, show that you possess high religious endowments.

TWO CHIEF PROPOSITIONS.

Japan is ripe, not for second-rate things, but for first-rate. In adopting a new civilization, Japan has

taken for her watchword: "Never the second-best; always the first-best." If she adopts the first-best, she will adopt Christianity.

America, England, Scotland, Germany, wish Japan to be great, enlightened, free, independent. The Christian world believes that Japan cannot be either of these unless she become Christian.

What are to be the relations of Christianity to the future of Japanese civilization? What is to be the religious future of Japan? These are by far the most searching questions of the present hour in this empire. I venture to maintain two propositions:—

1. You could not shut Christianity out of Japan if you would.

2. You would not exclude Christianity from Japan if you could.

Allow me to give my reasons for believing that you could not shut Christianity out of Japan if you would.

THERE ARE NO FOREIGN LANDS.

God be thanked that in our day there are no foreign lands! Cæsar could not drive his chariot around the borders of the Roman Empire in less than one hundred days; we can now send a letter around the whole globe in ninety. London, or New York, or Yokohama is as near in time to the outskirts of civilization in every corner of the earth as Rome was to the borders of the empire of Augustus. The increase of all means of intercommunication is so vast and rapid in our time, that the isolation of people from people is becoming impracticable. The mental seclusion of India, of Central Asia, of China, and even

of Africa must and will be broken up. There can be no more hermit nations.

Japan cannot live behind a screen. She could not if she would; and her recent history proves that she would not if she could.

There is coming to be one system of military and naval training, one style of engineering, one chemistry, one geology, one astronomy, one code of international law and of morals, and so also one spiritual faith for all nations. The chemistry, the geology, the astronomy which maintains itself in the West will maintain itself in the East. The spiritual faith which maintains itself there will maintain itself here. Christianity, and it only, as every intelligent man knows, is thus sustaining itself and proving its right to universal empire.

WORLD-WIDE TRIUMPHS OF CHRISTIANITY.

Consider the astounding rapidity of the advances of Christianity within the latest and most enlightened of the centuries. I measure here upon this table three hands' breadths to represent the first 1500 years of the Christian era. In this space of time Christianity gained 100,000,000 adherents. But in the next three fingers' breadths, that is in the 300 years immediately succeeding the reformation under Luther, it gained 100,000,000 more. In the next finger's breadth, that is, in the single century in which we live, it has gained 210,000,000 more. In the last century Christianity has gained as many adherents as in all the eighteen preceding centuries of the Christian Era. The number of Christians in the world is now estimated at 410,000,000.

Your Japanese mats are each six feet long. If the Christians of the world were to sit down together on a row of such mats, two on each mat, the line would extend around the whole globe, once, twice, thrice, six, nine, eleven times ! Were the Christians of the world to stand up side by side and join hands, they would engirdle the whole planet eleven times.

In the year 1800 there were only 50 translations of the Bible in existence ; now there are 308. At the opening of this century there were expended for missions only £50,000 annually ; now there are spent for that purpose £1,700,000 each year — a small sum, indeed, but one which is rapidly increasing. There are so many copies of the Scriptures now printed and distributed that there is one Bible in circulation for every ten inhabitants of the planet. There are 50,000 preachers and teachers of Christianity, and more than 1,000,000 enrolled church-members in pagan lands. Fifty years ago there were only 2,000,000 scholars and teachers in the Sunday-schools of the world ; now there are over 14,000,000. Let my hand represent the whole population of the world. Three fifths of it, and those the most important fifths, — thumb, forefinger, and middle finger, — are under Christian governments. Great Britain alone rules one third of the habitable surface and one fourth of the population of the globe. India has half a million of Protestant Christians. They have doubled their numbers every ten years for the last forty years. Professor Legge says that if the Protestant Christians in China go on increasing in number as rapidly as they have of late, they will be at

least 100,000,000 in 1950. I am assured by the best statisticians that it is quite within the power of Christianity as a whole to bring a knowledge of the spoken or written gospel before the end of another quarter of a century to every inhabitant of the globe. Already the bells of Christian churches and the lights on Christian ships are nearly in sight and hearing of each other around the entire earth.

These immense advances of Christianity I do not mention to prove its truth as a system of faith, but simply to show that you cannot seclude yourselves from it.

Railways, telegraphs, printing-presses, universities, have come to Japan to stay, and so has Christianity.

Your love of political freedom will favor religious freedom. The love of political freedom is one of the most intense passions of the population of this empire. You will not tolerate persecution for the sake of religion. I venture to predict that the Japanese will never again prohibit the teaching of Christianity. It will obtain a full and fair hearing. When it has once done this, your misconceptions of it will pass away. It will be impossible for you to think that its teachers have covert political motives. It will be impossible for infidels to caricature it. It will be impossible for the froth and scum of Western civilization in your sea-ports to mislead you in your judgment as to its effects in practice. Your own native Christian churches are becoming numerous, self-supporting, and aggressive. They will be as cities set on hills. Christianity will exhibit itself here in private life and in public organizations and be known

by its fruits. It will absorb the most advanced science. It will found colleges, universities, and medical, theological, legal, and philosophical schools. It will sanctify and transfigure family life. It will teach immortality; the being and attributes of a personal God; the necessity of the new birth and the atonement; the eternal judgment. Filling all the world with its light, it will kindle here a holy radiance which no part of the Orient can escape.

RELATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY TO POLITICAL FREEDOM.

Having given my reasons for believing that you could not shut Christianity out of Japan if you would, let me now explain why I hope you would not if you could.

You are patriotic and wish to preserve the great benefits which your immense reforms, when completed, will bring to you. You are passionately attached to political freedom. Only Christianity can make your political freedom safe. France is a proof that freedom cannot be built upon infidelity. Every people that Roman Catholicism has exclusively governed through centuries has been left in a state of prolonged childhood. But Romanism has done more for those it has led than ever Buddhism has accomplished for its adherents. Romanism never prepared a people for such political freedom as you expect to enjoy. Buddhism, even in its reformed shape, will not answer your needs as patriots.

You purpose in 1890 to organize an Imperial Parliament on the basis of representative institutions.

You are beginning the formation of political parties. The winds of faction begin to blow over your political sea. In the quiet waters of despotic governments, you may float safely on mere rafts; but in the rough seas of freedom you must have staunch vessels or you will sink. Governments of the people, for the people, by the people, are possible only through the diffusion of conscientiousness among the people. Among the citizens of my native republic, it is a commonplace truth that safe political freedom consists in the diffusion of intelligence, liberty, property, and conscientiousness. It must be made up of the four and not of any three, or two, or one of these alone. Christianity is the only religion known to history which has ever prepared a nation for political freedom based on wide popular suffrage.

It is a most striking fact that the map of the Protestant countries of the world in which Sundays are best observed, that is, Switzerland, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, is almost precisely the same as the map of the countries in which safe political freedom exists. There is freedom in France, but how long will it last? There is freedom in Austria, but it has a bayonet through it. There is freedom in Russia, but it has a scourge above its back. Only the countries in which Christianity teaches the people conscientiousness, only those in which the Christian Sundays give opportunity to make the mass of the people serious, moral, and religious, show fitness for such freedom as the Japanese hope to enjoy.

Alexis De Tocqueville said, "A nation never needs so much to be theocratic as when it is the most dem-

ocratic." Political liberty with Christianity, it has been wisely affirmed, is heaven; political liberty without Christianity is hell.

If Japan becomes free and does not become Christian, she will never rise above the rank of a third or fourth rate power. Since the Japanese expelled the Moghuls, your people have shown no greater dread of any political disaster than of that of coming under the dominion of any foreign nation. With freedom and without Christianity, Japan, as I for one most solemnly believe, will be so divided against herself and so weak as ultimately to lose her national independence. Instead of being too patriotic to admit Christianity to Japan, you will be too patriotic to exclude it.

America wishes Japan to be great, free, enlightened, progressive, independent. The course of history in the West for 1500 years proves that no nation can be all these without being Christian.

INADEQUACIES OF REFORMED BUDDHISM.

You are intelligent, and wish a religion that will bear examination. Christianity is such a religion, and Buddhism is not. You sent lately two Buddhist missionaries from this city to the West to learn the opinion of the great scholars there as to Buddhism. Max Müller at Oxford told them that Gautama probably never heard of Amida, nor of the Western Paradise. He assured them that your Reformed Buddhism is a great departure from the original doctrines of Shaka. He advised them to return to Kioto and endeavor to deliver their brethren from what he called

silly and mischievous superstitions. What reply will you make to Max Müller's assertions? In this matter he represents fairly the soundest scholarship of Europe and America. When the creed of Reformed Buddhism is examined as an historical and literary curiosity, what is its rank among the best scholars of the world? It is an interesting fossil. It is treated with a certain reverence because it has been the faith of many millions of men. But when it is put forward with the claim that it should command the assent of the intellect and heart of the modern world, — what is it? A laughing-stock. I can say nothing less than this if I am to report to you faithfully what the learning of the Occident thinks of the religious misbeliefs of the Orient. Let us have done with illusions. University education of a thorough kind has already been introduced into Japan. Its progress is inevitable. In the rising light of adequate learning, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Mohammedanism will flee out of Asia as the birds of night flee before the dawn. The Land of the Rising Sun will not be a land of bats.

CHRISTIANITY IN THE UNITED STATES.

You are intelligent, and wish a religion that can stand alone on its rendered reasons under free discussion and without state patronage. Christianity is the only religion that has ever done this. Do not think that Christianity in the West depends for its respectability on its connection with the state. In Germany and in England certain branches of Protestantism enjoy governmental patronage, and perhaps you are of the opinion that if this were removed Christianity

would fall. Look at the history of a free church in a free state in my own land. In the United States no church has any patronage from the state, or has had for more than two hundred years. Has Christianity failed there? In the year 1800 the proportion of enrolled Protestant church-members in the United States to the whole population was one in fifteen; now it is one in five. The United States have fifty millions of people and ten millions of evangelical Protestant church-members. Besides these there are twelve millions of children in the Sabbath schools of the United States. More than forty millions of the population are undoubtedly in sympathy with a scholarly, aggressive, Protestant Christianity. This is a result reached under free discussion, by leaving Christianity to stand alone without state patronage and with no support but its intellectual, social, moral, and religious merits. In this enumeration I exclude six millions of Roman Catholics, not because many of them are not Christians, but because average Roman Catholicism is a benighted and corrupted form of Christianity. By enrolled Protestant church-members I mean, of course, not a population of merely baptized and perhaps only nominal Christians, such as are found under the care of state churches, but church-members in the full sense of the word: that is, those who have made a solemn, public profession of their faith in Christianity and of their purpose to enter upon a religious life.

What is the chief cause of the prosperity of the United States, and of other Protestant nations? A scholarly and aggressive evangelical Christianity.

This is the reply your own minister, Mr. Arinori, received from the foremost men in America when he put to them this question. It was a scholarly, evangelical, aggressive, Protestant Christianity, which crossed the Atlantic in the Mayflower and began the civilization of New England at Plymouth Rock. It was this style of Christianity that has founded nine out of ten of the colleges of the United States. It was Christianity of this type which took Charles I. by the throat and broke his neck. It is the Puritan element in the American population that has been the rudder of American progress. It was Christianity that planted the common school system in every American State from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the Great Lakes to the Gulf. It was Christianity that abolished slavery. It is Christianity that holds the conscience of the nation up to the duty of bearing enormous taxes for the public good. It is Christianity that has inspired the United States to the paying of their public debt with a rapidity that has amazed the world. It is Christianity that only yesterday compelled the lower house of the American Congress to vote to pay back to Japan the indemnity money of more than a million dollars, wrung from this empire by a process no better than robbery, after the bombardment of Shimonoseki.

Among half-educated populations, largely made up by immigrants from the Old World, the United States have a few obscure infidel organizations. What have they been doing? A great majority of them have become utterly infamous by connecting themselves with attacks on the purity of the family. A few years ago

Congress, in a most scathing official document, rejected a public petition of a majority of these leagues for the abolition of the righteous laws which prevent the transmission through the post-office of infamous publications. A few infidels denounced this enterprise, but the majority adhered to it and were crushed under the heel of indignant public sentiment. The editor of a New York organ of these leagues was convicted by a New York jury and sent to jail for distributing infamous publications through the mails. "Scribner's Monthly" described this leading infidel's career in an article entitled "The Apotheosis of Dirt." But this man was lately received with open arms by the theosophists of Bombay and Madras. Men are measured by their heroes. He and his compeers no more represent America than one or two notoriously noisy infidels in England represent Great Britain. These erratics and charlatans no more represent the countries to which they belong than a cobweb at the edge of a mountain grove represents the whole forest of shaking boughs.

As to learned rationalism in the United States, it never had a better representative than Theodore Parker, but he is already outgrown. There exists in America no collected edition of his works. He was once read in India, and by a few in Japan, as the representative of our foremost religious thought. He has had no success in founding a theological party in America. His chief disciple, for some years a preacher of liberalism in Boston and New York, has lately told the world that he begins to doubt his own doubts, and has joined a conservative Unitarian

church. Mr. Emerson, who began his career with pantheistic ideas, now calls himself a Christian Theist, and says that in this designation the word Christian must not be left out, for to leave out that is to leave out everything. Boston, under Channing, Parker, and Emerson, has three times tried to found a new religion, but each attempt is now a last year's bird's-nest.

THE DECLINE OF RATIONALISM IN THE GERMAN UNIVERSITIES.

Germany has the most learned universities that the world now contains. The German Empire has five young men in a course of university education where England has one. In the theological faculties of the German universities are found the acutest modern experts in the study of the historical and philosophical proofs of the divine origin of Christianity. As all scholars know, there has been in these faculties in the last fifty years a great reaction against infidelity and unbelief. Fifty or eighty years ago the evangelical lecture rooms in the theological departments of the German universities were empty, and the rationalistic were crowded. Now, as I know from personal observation, the evangelical are crowded and the rationalistic empty. Out of the thirty prominent universities of Germany only three are under predominantly rationalistic influence. Of these three, Heidelberg is the most important; but Professor Christlieb, on the banks of the Rhine at Bonn, told me not long ago that this university lately had seven theological teachers and only seven theological pupils. It

has not had over forty pupils at any one time in its theological department for many years. On the other hand, the number of theological pupils at evangelical Halle is from two hundred to three hundred; at evangelical Berlin from three hundred to four hundred; at evangelical Leipzig from four hundred to five hundred. I was lately at Leipzig, and heard Luthardt, Kahnis, and Delitzsch lecturing to immense classes of three hundred pupils. At Heidelberg I have heard the leading theological professors often, and never saw more than five, seven, or nine pupils before any one of them at once. Lord Bacon used to say that the best material for political prophecy is to be found in the unforced opinions of young men. It is a most suggestive sign of the times that in Germany young men give their patronage to evangelical rather than to rationalistic professors in the proportion of ten to one. There is, of course, rationalism enough left in Germany among the peasants and merchants, and in certain medical, legal, and philosophical faculties of the universities where theological science has not been studied as a specialty; but the experts always ultimately lead thought in Germany, and the experts in the theological faculties have fought a great battle with unbelief in the last eighty years, and the result has been a defeat of doubt on all central points. Two generations since, rationalistic commentaries used to come to us from the Elbe and the Oder; but now, as every scholar knows, the best evangelical commentaries produced anywhere come to us from the most learned universities of the world.

JAPANESE STUDENTS IN AMERICA.

Not a few young men have been sent from Japan to America to obtain a liberal education. They have most of them had an honorable record there. Sometimes they have taken prizes over American youth. In many cases they have become members of American churches. I am much pained to be obliged to say that I have been told that a considerable number of these students, on returning to Japan, have not maintained their good standing as Christians. Some of these lapsed neophytes tell you that Christianity is declining in power in the West. Tell them in reply that the testimony of renegades and traitors is always suspicious. Tell them that one in five of the American population is now an enrolled church-member where one in fifteen was such in 1800. Point out to them the recent triumphs of Christian scholarship in England and Germany, and the downfall there of school after school of rationalism and infidelity. Exhibit to them the world-wide progress of Christian ideas. Tell them that if, in presence of these facts, they think that Christianity is declining, they are immensely, colossally, and inexplicably mistaken. Several of your young men who have studied in America have there not only become church-members, but have received a thorough theological education. Not one of these latter, so far as I have heard, has failed to maintain a consistent Christian course after his return to Japan. Every one of these is now in a position of usefulness and honor in your new civilization. Ask these young men, who know

the facts thoroughly, what the condition of Christianity is in the West, and they will tell you that it was never before so strong there as to-day.

MORAL NECESSITY OF THE NEW BIRTH AND THE ATONEMENT.

You are not only patriotic and intelligent, but you are also naturally religious. You desire peace with God; and Christianity is the only faith known under heaven or among men which points out adequate means of attaining such peace. Men die in Japan as well as elsewhere, and here as everywhere serious men desire supremely to be at peace when they go hence. It is self-evident in Japan as elsewhere that in order to be at peace with God we must be delivered from the love of sin and the guilt of sin. Only Christianity, with its doctrines of the New Birth and of the Atonement, can teach human souls how to attain this double deliverance.

ANJIRO'S PROPHECY.

Mendez Pinto was drifted to Japan in a piratical vessel in 1542. When he left your islands, one of your countrymen, Anjiro, of Satsuma, took refuge in Pinto's boat and was carried to Goa, on the west coast of India. At Goa he heard and embraced the Christian doctrines. He became an interpreter of Xavier, and returned to Japan with him in 1549. I open the life of Xavier, and find in it in his own words this remarkable record: "I inquired of Anjiro, whether, if I should go to Japan, he thought that the inhabitants would embrace Christianity.

He replied that his people would not immediately assent to what might be said to them ; but that they would investigate what I might affirm respecting religion by a multitude of questions, and above all by observing whether my conduct agreed with my words ; but if I should satisfy them on those two points by my suitable replies to their inquiries and by a conduct above all reproach, that then, as soon as the matter was known and reflected upon, the king and all the nobility and the adult population would flock to Christ, being a nation which always follows reason as their guide." Face to face with these temples and schools of Buddhism, I venture to express my unhesitating conviction that the future of Japan will justify Anjiro's prediction.

JAPAN AS THE ADVANCED GUARD OF REFORM IN ASIA.

There are two ways in which a nation may be reformed, one by its own independent effort, like that of Japan ; another by the imposition of civilization from without and the destruction of political independence, as in the case of India. In one or the other of these two ways weak and backward nations in Asia, Africa, and the isles of the sea must be regenerated, or else maintain themselves as hermits. To do the latter is every year increasingly impracticable, and already well-nigh impossible, except under the most deadly of tropical climates, where extraordinary physical conditions shut out the white races. The stern truth is that in modern times nations that cannot assert and maintain their independence are in

danger of being absorbed by the aggression of stronger populations. Selfishness and injustice in the relations of powerful nations to weak ones grow less and less dangerous, it is to be hoped, as the ages advance ; but there is enough of both yet left in the world to make it certain that no nation is safe which cannot defend itself against modern powers by the use of modern weapons. Columbiads must be matched by Columbiads and not by bows and arrows. Japan cannot successfully compete with Western nations unless she equips herself as thoroughly as her rivals are equipped, not only in science, art, and industry, but in moral and religious training as well. The secret of the prosperity of the free nations of the Occident is Christianity. Until Japan thoroughly learns that secret, her strength will not be equal to the tasks which may fall to her not only in self-development, but in self-defense.

Japan is seeking for intellect and learning throughout the world to establish the foundations of her prosperity. All the departments of her educational institutions, her army, her navy, and her politics, she has reorganized on the most approved models, or on what she regards as the best practicable in the present state of the empire. She has sent young men to America and Europe to receive an advanced education, and called them back to occupy posts of the highest responsibility in the conduct of her great reforms. She has temporarily availed herself of the services of experts from Germany, France, England, and the United States, in setting on foot her new enterprises. In all this she has most jealously main-

tained her freedom from foreign control or interference, and has set to the world an example of aspiration and independence that command the admiration of mankind.

As I travel around the world, I am meditating constantly on the question: How can the weak and backward nations of the earth be reformed? My answer is: It must be either by the method of India or by that of Japan. Absorption from without or self-reformation from within must ultimately be the fate of every people that is exposed to the flowing tides of civilization in a world that is now commercially a unit. Which of these two methods I should myself prefer ought to be evident not only from the fact that I happen to be an American, but simply from the circumstance that I am a man, and as such in sympathy with the just claims of all other men. I abhor the destruction of the independence of nationalities. I would make international law harmonious with the supreme Christian principle that we are to do to others what we would that others should do to us. Nevertheless, my expectation is that the independence of weak and unreformed nations will be destroyed. To every backward people on the earth Providence presents the alternative: Absorption or self-reformation, which? To every such people Providence appears to me to be uttering in our day this most searching and comprehensive counsel: Choose self-reformation on the most advanced Christian ideals. Imitate Japan. My hope, my devout prayer is, that this advice may be heeded, and that the success of Japan may make her example, and not that of

India, the model for reform in the East. Let Japan thoroughly succeed, and the cry will be heard in Corea: Imitate Japan. Let Japan thoroughly succeed, and before another half century shall have passed the cry will be heard even in China: Imitate Japan. Let Japan thoroughly succeed, and in Afghanistan, in Persia, in Arabia, the watchword of progress may yet be: Imitate Japan. Let Japan thoroughly succeed, and on the Ganges and the Indus the inspiring cry of reform may yet be: Imitate Japan. Let Japan thoroughly succeed, and in the centre of Africa, on the great lakes and head waters of the mighty rivers of the Dark Continent, the most animating shout of nations awakening from slumber and rejoicing in the morning light of civilization may yet be: Imitate Japan. Thus may be fulfilled, in a moral sense, the aspiration of your statesmen and reformers, that the keen weapons of Japan may be made to shine beyond the seas.

ITYEYASU'S WATCHWORD.

Not many days ago I was on the battle-field of Sekigahara. There your hero Iyeyasu achieved a victory which gave peace to Japan for 250 years. In the early morning I sat down on the mound under the breathing pines, on the spot where he rested after that battle. You remember that he fought bare-headed; but that after success was won he called for his helmet and put it on, saying, "After victory, tighten the cords of your helmet." What was his meaning? After victory, secure the fruits of victory. Let me commend this watchword of Iyeyasu

to New Japan. The price of liberty is eternal vigilance. You have begun vast reforms. In all departments of your public life you have initiated immense changes. Imitate Iyeyasu. After victory, tighten the cords of your helmets.

The eyes of the civilized world are fastened on Japan. All who desire the regeneration of Asia are watching intently the new civilization of this empire. What is the world looking at here? Not your Inland Sea, although it is a dream of beauty; not the landscapes of the Tokaido or the Nakasendo, although they are of unsurpassed loveliness; not Fujisan, although it is sublime and peerless. The eyes of the world are fastened on *you*, young Japanese statesmen; on *you*, young Japanese professors of science; on *you*, young Japanese artists; on *you*, young Japanese authors; on *you*, young Japanese editors; on *you*, young Japanese lecturers; on *you*, young Japanese teachers of all ranks; and, most of all, on *you*, young Japanese Christians. The questions the world is asking are whether you will imitate the first-best or only the second-best of the institutions of the Occident; whether you will secure the greatest advantages of a new civilization without losing the best traits of your indigenous national culture; whether your orders of nobility are to be founded on mere ancestry or on personal achievement, on pedigree or performance, on artificial or natural rank; whether, in your politics, you will maintain liberty without license, and govern your empire by representative forms and yet not be wrecked by party spirit; whether you will secure the right management of

great cities as well as of rural districts, and deliver your populations not only from ignorance, but from intemperance, social vice, poverty, and the tyranny of capital over labor; and most especially whether you will commit the future of Japan to the guidance of a false religious faith, or to no faith at all, or to the most spiritual and scholarly forms of Christianity and to the hand of Almighty God. The present and the next generation of the leaders of thought in Japan will be forced by the progress of events to answer most of these questions, and to do so in face of the whole world. Your responsibilities are as immense as your opportunities. Let political and religious freedom succeed in Japan and her example of reform may yet be imitated throughout Asia. Let Japan fail, and she will become a stumbling-block in the path of the advancing civilization of a whole continent. These islands are but a small part of Asia, and a rudder is but a small part of a ship; but the rudder, rightly managed, guides the whole vessel, and so Japan, rightly managed, may be the rudder of reform in all Asia. Place the hand not of Buddhism, not of Confucianism, not of infidelity, but of an aggressive and scholarly Christianity, upon the rudder of Japan, and this empire, by the blessing of Almighty God, may guide all Asia into a regenerated and glorious future.

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CRITICAL NOTICES OF MR. COOK'S BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

President James McCosh, Princeton College, in the Catholic Presbyterian for September, 1879.

Mr. Cook did not take up the work he has accomplished, as a trade, or by accident, or from impulse ; but for years he had been preparing for it, and prepared for it by an overruling guidance. I regard Joseph Cook as a Heaven-ordained man. He comes at the fit time ; that is, at the time he is needed. . . . He lightens and thunders, throwing a vivid light on a topic by an expression or comparison, or striking a presumptuous error as by a bolt from heaven. He is not afraid to discuss the most abstract, scientific, or philosophic themes before a popular audience ; he arrests his hearers first by his earnestness, then by the clearness of his exposition, and fixes the whole in the mind by the earnestness of his moral purpose.

Rev. Professor A. P. Peabody, of Harvard University, in the Independent.

Joseph Cook is a phenomenon to be accounted for. No other American orator has done what he has done, or anything like it ; and, prior to the experiment, no voice would have been bold enough to predict its success.

We reviewed Mr. Cook's "Lectures on Biology" with unqualified praise. In the present volume we find tokens of the same genius, the same intensity of feeling, the same lightning flashes of impassioned eloquence, the same vise-like hold on the rapt attention and absorbing interest of his hearers and readers. We are sure that we are unbiased by the change of subject ; for, though we dissent from some of the dogmas which the author recognizes in passing, there is hardly one of his consecutive trains of thought in which we are not in harmony with him, or one of his skirmishes in which our sympathies are not wholly on his side.

Rev. Dr. Thomas Hill, Ex-President of Harvard University, in the Christian Register.

These lectures are crowded so full of knowledge, of thought, of argument, illumined with such passages of eloquence and power, spiced so frequently with deep-cutting though good-natured irony, that I could make no abstract from them without utterly mutilating them.

Professor Francis Bowen, Harvard University.

I do not know of any work on conscience in which the true theory of ethics is so clearly and forcibly presented, together with the logical inferences from it in support of the great truths of religion.

The Princeton Review.

Mr. Cook has already become famous ; and these lectures are among the chief works that have, and we may say justly, made him so. Their celebrity is due partly to the place and circumstances of their delivery, but still more to their inherent power, without which no adventitious aids could have lifted them into the deserved prominence they have attained. . . . Mr. Cook is a great master of analysis.

Boston Daily Advertiser.

It is not often that Boston people honor a public lecturer so much as to crowd to hear him at the noon-tide of a week-day ; and, when it does this month after month, the fact is proof positive that his subject is one of engrossing interest. Mr. Cook, perhaps more than any gentleman in the lecture-field the past few years, has been so honored.

The Independent.

We know of no man that is doing more to-day to show the reasonableness of Christianity, and the unreasonableness of unbelief ; nor do we know of any one who is doing it with such admirable tolerance yet dramatic intensity.

Rev. R. Payne Smith, Dean of Canterbury.

The lectures are remarkably eloquent, vigorous, and powerful, and no one could read them without great benefit. They deal with very important questions, and are a valuable contribution towards solving many of the difficulties which at this time trouble many minds.

Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, London.

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